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The Shape of Things

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THE MENTAL processes of the large House majority which passed the foreign-relief bill only after cutting down the original appropriation of $350,000,000 to $200,000,000 and adding a lot of restrictive amendments which will tend to defeat the purposes of the bill. In some quarters the vote is cited as evidence of a resurgence of "isolationism." However, many of those who voted for reduced relief are expected to approve the bill for aid to Greece and Turkey—hardly an isolationist measure, whatever else may be said against it. So perhaps we must accept Arthur Krock's explanation that the legislators acted (a) from motives of economy, and (b) from a desire to protest against the "inconsistency" of the Administration when at one and the same time it gets tough with Russia and offers aid to Russian-dominated countries. On this point it seems to us that the logic of the State Department is better than that of the Congressional Republicans. The denial of relief to Poland or Hungary on the ground that it would indirectly serve to bolster the Soviet economy appears a sure way of reinforcing Soviet propaganda in such countries. On the other hand, expenditures to relieve suffering should prove, as the New York *Herald Tribune* has put it, "powerful missionary arguments in precisely those areas where we most want to make good our case." As for economy, Congressmen should know that the policy of checking the western advance of communism, which we have adopted, cannot be carried out cheaply. We shall get more for our money, however, if we spend it in ways that promote economic recovery than if we invest it in arms for corrupt and inefficient governments.

*

FOR A MAN AS COOL IN TEMPERAMENT AS he is reputed to be, Senator Robert A. Taft is behaving with surprising rashness. His dogged efforts to make the labor bill as punitive as the Senatorial traffic will bear may look to him like a good risk, but his arrogance toward the American Federation of Labor seems more like self-indulgence than smart politics. Federation leaders thought they had an understanding with Taft last fall whereby they would have a measure of influence in the framing of a moderate measure. Pained over the apparent double-cross, they called on Taft last week and were told in effect that the Senator was delighted to have their opposition. He hoped that, in their anger over the draconian House bill, the A. F. of L. men would not fail to train a gun or two on his own slightly milder proposals. Taft's tactics, if they are calculated at all, are hard to understand. Last November the Republican Party enjoyed considerable labor support, without which it would certainly have lost in a good number of the industrial districts its candidates carried. Taft and his colleagues appear to be under a strange compulsion to kick this support away in exchange for nothing at all, the anti-labor vote being theirs almost by definition. A measure of Taft's folly is the mournful reaction of William L. Hutcheson, conservative president of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the man who headed the G. O. P.'s labor committee in the Hoover and Landon campaigns. Hutcheson is said to have complained in private: "It's getting so a labor man can hardly vote Republican any more."

*

SENTIMENTS LIKE MR. HUTCHESON'S GIVE more than a passing news value to the strained but none the less dramatic get-together of Federation and C. I. O. leaders. What John L. Lewis likes to call "accouplement" may still be far in the offing, although, with industrial unionism an accepted principle in the A. F. of L., there are fewer obstacles today than in previous attempts. But thanks to Senator Taft, the conference had other implications. Aside from confronting the vengeful lawmakers—and we do not apply the adjective to those who would honestly correct admitted abuses—with an unprecedented labor solidarity, the meeting suggested some interesting political possibilities. It is no secret that a sizable proportion of the A. F. of L. vote went to Thomas E. Dewey in New York last fall. Will an effort be made now to smoke out the Governor—or will he be allowed to sit back and let his rivals for the G. O. P. nomination take the risks while he enjoys the fruits in non-committal silence? Some of the Federation men who called on Taft last week are almost duty bound now to pay a visit to Albany. Then, too, should an all-out joint campaign against the combined Taft-Hartley bill be climaxed by a Presidential veto, old wounds might magically be healed. It is worth noting that while Lewis has cried "'Murder!" at Secretary of the Interior

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors: Robert Bendiner, Maxwell S. Stewart

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

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Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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Krug, he has so far cautiously refrained from making a villain of the President.

*

AS OUR WISCONSIN READERS WILL SURELY point out, we were wrong last week in citing the forthcoming special election in the state of Washington as "the first test of Congressional strength since last November." Just after going to press we learned the results of the special election in Wisconsin's Second District, where Democratic candidate Carl Thompson lost to Republican Glenn Davis by the exceedingly narrow margin of 843 votes. Thompson's remarkable showing is doubly significant. It represents, first, a notable shift in the political wind since last fall. The Democratic candidate at that time polled only 36 per cent of the vote; Davis won 49 per cent. Second, it underscores the blunder of the La Follettes in seeking a haven for their following in the Republican Party. Thompson, a rising leader of the Progressive Party, refused to go along on this suicidal policy. He has been proved right. Whereas the G. O. P. denied the Senatorial nomination to Bob La Follette, the Democrats have made Wisconsin liberals like Thompson very much at home. He was induced to run in the first place by a Democratic national committeeman, and his excellent showing is credited to the party's willingness to work with cooperatives, trade unions, and Americans for Democratic Action, which sent an organizer into the district. The combination promises to restore to Wisconsin politics the dignity it has lost under the thumb of Republican boss Tom Coleman.

*

WHILE THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE Geneva Trade Conference is trying to sell the world on the need for fewer trade barriers, Congress is busy adding new bricks to the American tariff wall. The Senate recently rushed through a bill, introduced by Senator Robertson, a Wyoming sheep rancher, providing for continued support of domestic wool prices by government purchases and for sales of Commodity Credit Corporation wool stocks at the market, even though losses are incurred. But this plan for transferring some $75,000,000 of taxpayers' money to the sheep herders seems insufficiently generous to the House Agriculture Committee, which is proposing to amend the Robertson bill by adding to it authorization for the imposition of a 50 per cent *ad valorem* "fee" on imported wool and wool products. This charge will be, of course, in addition to present tariff duties, which in the case of raw wool amount to about 34 per cent on the finer grades and in respect to woolen and worsted fabrics, range upward of 50 per cent. The bill, if it becomes law, will add heavily to the cost of clothes and blankets, and on that ground alone it ought to be rejected. But even worse is its likely effect on the Geneva conference. For how can our delegates hope to convince other nations that we are sincere

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in our proposals for freer trade in the face of such Congressional actions? How, in particular, can America hope to persuade the British Empire, the world's chief producer of raw wool, to moderate its preferential tariff system? If the Administration does not take immediate steps to challenge this iniquitous bill, the Geneva conference seems doomed to smother in Western wool.

*

PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN OF MEXICO WAS greeted in Washington last week by the biggest crowds to turn out in the capital since the visit of General Eisenhower or the British royal family. His visit, of course, followed hard on President Truman's trip to Mexico City, where public enthusiasm made a pretty picture in the newsreels and any adverse comment failed to reach the public prints. Behind the fanfare is a hard-headed Washington calculation of which Mexico is taking full advantage. In policy-making circles in Mexico City, just before Alemán's departure, what was being freely discussed was not Mexico's leadership in the hemisphere-defense program, to which both countries are committed, but just how much the United States can be made to pay for it. Exact figures are not available but in Washington $40,000,000 was mentioned as a possible contribution from the Treasury's Stabilization Fund to bolster the peso, with another $50,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank. Mexican estimates go as high as $100,000,000 for industrialization, $50,000,000 for highways, and $25,000,000 for tourist facilities. In general, the present Mexican government would prefer United States government money to private loans, although the latter are not ruled out. Mexico has become shy of foreign capital partly because of old, unhappy memories of Standard Oil imperialism and partly because of a natural reluctance to become involved in the United States business crash which Mexicans confidently expect.

*

MEXICO'S WAR-TIME SPENDING SPREE LEFT the country in confusion. Little of the profits went to the government. The present administration contains an overwhelming number of comparatively young business men and is going all out for efficiency and public-works construction. Just before Alemán left Mexico City he got blank-check support from Vincente Lombardo Toledano's labor movement, in spite of the fact that Lombardo has been the most vocal opponent in Latin America of the Truman plan for hemisphere defense and the Clayton plan for low-tariff multilateral trade. The grounds for Toledano's present support are that Alemán is "carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution" and that his program is, therefore, broadly progressive. Both the government and the left are frightened by the growing strength of the frankly reactionary right, mainly of the highly organized National Action Party (P. A. N.), with its strong Catholic ideology. P. A. N., with some aid from Chambers of Commerce and the Synarchists, has been able to unseat four state governors in eighteen months. Against this right-wing threat the government Party of Revolutionary Institutions and the labor movement are comparatively weak and divided. In this situation the "bourgeois democratic revolutionary" government must carry out its ambitious schemes for industrialization even if it is not too enthusiastic about the source of funds. Washington, at the same time, is so anxious to clinch Mexico's support for its new plan for a Pan-American arsenal of democracy that it is prepared to give substantial support to Alemán's "progressive" schemes for industrialization.

*

FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE BALTIMORE AND Ohio Railroad filed a petition in bankruptcy as a preliminary to its financial reorganization and the extension of a large loan from the RFC, a vice-president named Snodgrass wrote the following letter to Arthur H. Dean, a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, who served as special counsel for the B. and O. for its refinancing program:

> I am inclosing a copy of a plant and of the bud which was grafted on it with a view to producing a flower, lily white in color, bold in design, and seductive in fragrance, instead of the burrs and beggars' lice which the plant was intended to bear.

When Mr. Snodgrass was called before the Senate Banking Committee—it is investigating what one reporter called "the railroad's affairs with the RFC" but what sounds to us more like an affair with Jesse Jones—he said and said again that he just didn't know what he had meant by the plant and the bud, the lily and the lice. Since Mr. Snodgrass seems to have no idea of the meaning of his flight of fancy, perhaps a more prosaic witness should be called to figure it out. We suggest that the committee subpoena Mortimer Snerd. Meanwhile we are trying vainly to recall—our memory, like Snodgrass's, has gone to seed—the name of that soap which is supposed to be good for a malaise of which the name escapes us, except that it contains the letters *B* and *O*.

*

NAPOLEON AND UNCLE ELBY HAVE RECENTLY been involved by their creator, comic-strip cartoonist Clifford McBride, in a most distressing experience. It seems that a neighbor, Bessie Bigotry, has succeeded in restricting the neighborhood against occupancy by mongrel dogs, a classification which she insists includes Napoleon. When a notice is tacked on the kennel that Napoleon must go, Uncle Elby at first resorts to subterfuge and attempts to hide the crestfallen mongrel under his ample coat-tails. But Bessie Bigotry is not the type of lady to be put off by such a clumsy strategem and the

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sheriff is promptly summoned. But, lo! Napoleon has been painted with lovely black spots and is now a pedigreed thoroughbred Dalmatian, entitled to reside in a restricted neighborhood. When rains wash away Napoleon's aristocratic spots, Bessie Bigotry is, once again, aroused to take action in the name of the Anti-Mongrel Neighborhood Association. But when she reappears with the sheriff, the ingenious Uncle Elby has prepared a pedigree certifying that Napoleon is not of mongrel blood. "A pedigree," opines Uncle Elby, "is, after all, merely an exercise in penmanship." While Bessie Bigotry has been frustrated for a moment in her efforts to drive Napoleon from his kennel, who knows what diabolical devices she may yet invent in her fight to rid the neighborhood of mongrels? Whatever she does, however, one may rest assured that Clifford McBride will not permit either Uncle Elby or Napoleon to be caught offside.

*

IN ORPHAN ANNIE, BY THE WAY, HAROLD Gray's cheerless and timeless strip in the *Daily News*, the plot currently involves a couple of plug-uglies who are stealing atom bomb secrets and who go around saying "Da" instead of "Yes." This is known as more fun for the kiddies.

Remember Mr. Hoover!

Washington, May 1

THE program, the handouts, the press releases, all proclaimed the event to be the thirty-fifth—not the fifteenth—annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The dates all read 1947—not 1927. Yet at times it seemed there must have been a mistake somewhere, somehow.

There was, for instance, Dr. Rufus S. Tucker, economist of General Motors, with his resurrection of the "trickle-down" theory of prosperity. "Mere money in the hands of consumers—whether wage earners or others—does not give rise to production but only to price inflation," said Dr. Tucker. The problem of distributing the product of expanding industry opens up three choices. You can pass on the increased benefits in the form of higher wages—a bad choice since it would just increase prices, "prevent innovating business men from increasing their profits by hiring more labor," and, indeed, cause them to discharge workers and create unemployment. The second choice is price reduction. This, Dr. Tucker conceded, is more equitable "and would increase sales but not profits and therefore not employment. It would also discourage further innovations." The third choice represents the real "road to ever-expanding prosperity": Let the benefits of higher production "accrue in the first instance to the management and stockholders." This is an incentive to progress and expansion, would create a greater demand for labor and higher wages, and, as competitors adopt the new methods, lower prices. "In a few years the benefits are wholly passed on to labor and to consumers." Meantime, business men and investors have been cheered by the good profits and encouraged to continue innovating.

Well, what was good enough for Hoover and Mellon is good enough for Rufus S. Tucker.

President Truman's appeal to business men to reduce prices captured No. 1 place in the C. of C. Stink Parade. The delegates responded with a resolution that demonstrated that when bigger bushes are better beaten about, the United States Chamber will still be champion. The resolution agreed that there was at present an opportunity to apply the formula of more goods at lower prices, but it should be applied to everyone, not just business men. The latter would cut prices "where and when business costs permit." Applying to the price situation Dr. Tucker's argument against raising wages, price reductions "cannot be taken out of profits because profits are too small."

One by one they lined up to take a poke at the Truman proposal. William S. Street, chairman of the chamber's Committee on Economic Policy, asked with a rhetorical smirk: "Is the President's suggestion that in order to avoid a recession now all we have to do is to raise wages moderately and reduce prices generally an adequate solution of this problem?" Busy at the chamber's foresighted game of building an alibi in advance, Street asked two more leading questions: "Because of a widespread fear of declining prices, could the President's request to reduce prices result in a withdrawal of purchasing power and a wholesale cancelation of forward plans of American business as well as the consumer? Could this, if so, lead us into a greater downward spiral than anticipated and could it bring on the very thing the remedy is designed to prevent—namely, a recession?"

Yes, sir, look what that Truman has gone and done—talked us right into a recession.

Earl O. Shreve, the chamber's new president, recognizing a good line when he heard it, picked it up in his inaugural speech: "Talk alone will not bring prices down, nor will the American people be fooled by attempts to make business men scapegoats and to blame business alone for the wage-price spiral."

The chamber zipped through its list of resolutions—including one on labor policy that paralleled the Hartley bill on every point. They displayed admirable dispatch and unanimity until they hit the resolution on displaced persons. It was harmless enough, favoring American membership in the International Refugee Organization and then, along with a monumental string of hedging reservations, suggesting that just for a few years America

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make "temporary adjustments in our quota allotments" to permit acceptance in this country of a reasonable number of displaced persons.

But even this was too much for James S. Kemper, one-time president of the chamber, a great reader of the Chicago *Tribune*, the man who in 1940 doubted "that the United States should trouble itself about anything except North America and the Panama Canal" and in April, 1941, deplored the "hysterical derangement of our normal production" in order to speed up defense. Using a tactic said to be a favorite with groups he presumably loathes, Kemper waited until most delegates had gone to lunch and then persuaded the rest to send the resolution back to committee, where it will languish until next year.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill took a beating from delegate Norman P. Mason, president of the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association. He took time to explain why residential building had fallen off so badly in the first three months of this year. It seems that government propaganda was mainly to blame. The results of the slogans: "Don't build now. Don't take essential building materials away from the veteran. Costs of building are too high," were "exactly what might have been expected. People who could afford to build have been talked out of it."

But something even more sinister is involved. "Thoughtful people in our industry," said Mason, "are beginning to ask to what extent this propaganda may have emanated from sources interested in overturning the established living habits of the American public. It has frequently been said that persons with foreign ideologies have gazed longingly at the control of housing as the first step in controlling the economy of the nation. Can it be that they have hoped, through hamstringing the private building industry in its efforts to provide housing, to produce a crisis giving them an opportunity to gain this control with a program of publicly built and operated housing? Can it be that the policy of forcing these new higher-priced houses upon the veterans, while permitting the stay-at-home war worker to continue to rent an apartment at 1940 prices, was done with the full knowledge that this situation would sooner or later result in bankrupting those veterans and bringing another crisis—another chance to overturn the government?"

Can it be, indeed? I mean, can it be 1947?

R. V. C.

Coming in *The Nation*

HOW CLOSE IS ATOMIC POWER?
by Leonard Engel

NEXT STEP IN CHINA
by Maxwell Stewart

AS EUROPEANS SEE US
by Reinhold Niebuhr

BIG PUSH AGAINST THE VALLEY
by A. G. Mezerik

A Working Plan for Palestine

THE events of last week at Flushing Meadows are discussed on another page of this issue. Their significance is not to be found in the inevitable pulling and hauling among the conflicting interests represented there, nor in the long wrangle over the question whether the debate should be limited to the original question—the appointment of a committee to investigate the Palestine problem and report to the regular session in September—or be extended to include the Arab demand for the immediate independence of Palestine. What was more important than these detailed disputes was the sense, underlying the whole discussion, that the hour of final decision has arrived. Out of the proceedings of the General Assembly now and in September must come a solution for Palestine.

In no other issue that has been presented to the United Nations are the interests at stake so immense or the decisions to be reached of such consequence to the peace of the world. As usual in such debates, this struggle for power was lightly veiled with innumerable expressions of lofty principle. Human rights rather than oil or empire were the overt subjects of concern. But the real issue involved several much more concrete questions: Will Britain continue to hold the balance of power in the Middle East, and the fate of the Jews and Arabs continue to be subject to the varying dictates of British foreign policy? Or is the United States now to take over the defense of Western interests; and if it does, will it apply new methods to the old job, making full use of the energies and progressive ideas represented in the Zionist development in Palestine, or will it revert to the British tactic of subventing reaction and curbing Jewish settlement and enterprise? Or will the Arab case win out, will British rule give way to a "democratic" Arab state in Palestine in which a new feudal oligarchy will provide another area for great-power intrigue and rivalry? It is perhaps not necessary to say that the chief loser in such a situation would be the Jews; the chief gainer, Russia. Jewish institutions and even Jewish lives would be under constant threat; Jewish immigration into Palestine would end. And a depressed economy would offer to the adherents of the Communist system an irresistible invitation to stir up the miserable population against its rulers. Luckily the Arab solution is not likely to be ac-

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cepted in its pure form, for the West can hardly be imagined subsidizing Russian interests so generously.

There is one other solution, which would meet, in part, Arab demands for independence, Jewish demands for a National Home, and even the legitimate demands of the big powers. This is the creation in Palestine of independent Jewish and Arab states. *The Nation* has advocated partition many times as the one available plan, admittedly a compromise, which might bring peace to Palestine and provide at least an approximation of the freedom and control both peoples demand.

Which of the possible solutions will emerge from the inquiry the United Nations is about to launch we cannot even guess; at this stage we want only to urge the most careful consideration of the idea of partition. At least it would have the immense virtue, if carried out intelligently, of preserving the Jewish institutions, permitting Jewish immigration into a Jewish state, and at the same time giving the Arabs, within an agreed area, a similar opportunity to pursue their own way of life in freedom. While this system was being established, the interests of both communities as well as those of the British should be guarded by the United Nations, which should assume temporarily the responsibility of maintaining order and supervising the territorial and political reorganization of the country.

It may be asked how the conflict of power in Palestine is to be solved or avoided through this solution. The answer is that partition would at least reduce the area of internal intrigue by satisfying the minimum demands of the two peoples involved, while at the same time giving scope for the progressive enterprise of the Jews. It would, or should, also mitigate international tension by eliminating the control of a single interested power and substituting the authority of the United Nations. British rule should be eliminated from the start; otherwise the plan would be rejected by Palestinians of both persuasions.

Partition, to be successful, would have to be linked to a broad program of regional development which would benefit both states and adjoining areas as well. Such a program should be carried through under the U. N., which should also, as a condition of granting membership to the new states, assume responsibility for the protection of religious and national minorities in both—a protection which should, in fact, be extended to include the whole Arab world if considerations of sovereignty were not an obstacle.

Last week the Nation Associates submitted to the United Nations a memorandum outlining the problem and the point of view we favor and at the same time providing the factual material necessary for an informed decision. The document was signed by a group of representative Americans who share our concern and our ideas about Palestine: Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Church Peace Union; Raymond Swing; James G. Patton, president of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the advisory council of the Nation Associates; and Frank Kingdon, co-chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America. In the next issue of *The Nation,* an abridged version of the memorandum will appear as a supplement. Interested readers will, we believe, find it a valuable handbook as well as a statement of policy.

Arabian Nights in Flushing

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadows, May 5

ONE week is not enough to prove the United Nations a failure on Palestine. A problem so old and so suffused in the politics of oil and strategic bases could hardly have been tackled at the outset with that determination and clarity of purpose the situation required. Those who, out of impatience with the evident maneuvers going on, spoke of "farce" and "bankruptcy" rendered no service either to the United Nations or to their own cause. But a week of deliberations has offered a preview of the attitude of the powers; and a sober analysis of their behavior so far provides an inkling as to whether or not in handling this important issue they will measure up to their responsibilities.

What must be avoided is the self-deception practiced at Geneva which ended in the downfall of the League. At Geneva on innumerable occasions the very people responsible for ruining the League spoke of it as of a strange lady in whose immoralities the pure gentlemen of the Council and the Assembly had no part. There never was an abstract League of Nations. There was only the League as it was fashioned by the Britain of Sir Samuel Hoare and Neville Chamberlain, by the France of Pierre Laval and Georges Bonnet. To recall these names is to realize that shame and failure were inevitable.

The same with the United Nations. It is not the institution itself, not the Flushing Meadows in their springtime beauty, not Mr. Lie or his secretariat, which can be held to account for the mistakes which may be made. What will count are the nations themselves and above all, in the present situation, the big powers.

The most disturbing thing last week was to see the

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greatest of the big powers apparently unable to make effective use of its greatness. It was not that the United States for one reason or another preferred to remain in the background. On the contrary, the United States showed in every one of its acts a desire to assume leadership—but only to demonstrate that it could not lead. The performance of the American delegation was the more incomprehensible in view of the almost clear record of the United States on the Palestine question and Senator Austin's warm sympathy for the Jewish case.

Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon

If there is one question on which every Administration has been agreed since 1917, it is the question of Palestine. From Wilson to Truman, every President and every political party has subscribed to the Balfour Declaration and its purposes. Since the end of the war the successive demands of President Truman for the admission into Palestine of 100,000 Jewish refugees have been among the most popular moves of the Administration. Between the two major political parties there was perfect agreement on the question of Palestine; President Truman and Governor Dewey agreed on it; even *PM* and the *Daily News* agreed on it. And just at the moment when the United States had a chance to render the greatest possible service to the Jews, the American delegation chose to range itself on the side of Great Britain in a battle which nearly succeeded in pushing the Jewish Agency out of the present discussions. This despite the fact that five Arab states had already made more than a dozen speeches attacking the Zionist position.

In the lobbies on the opening day one heard some caustic comments on the presence of the State Department's oil expert, Haydn Raynor. This not very discreet appearance was countered, however, by private assurances to the Jewish Agency from members of the American delegation. The test of these assurances came when the Americans took the lead in opposing a motion by the Czech and Polish delegations to admit the Jewish Agency in a consultative capacity to the plenary session of the Assembly.

A reversal of the roles previously played by the American and Soviet delegations developed in the course of the week. In the past the British have defended their course in Palestine, even against American criticism, as necessary to appease the Arabs. Last week it was the Americans who played to the Arab gallery. And last week, to the discomfiture of those who insisted that the Soviet Union was tied to the Arabs in a secret deal, the Russians emerged as the outstanding champion of the Jewish Agency and of its appearance before the General Assembly.

The fact that the Czech-Polish resolution was defeated in the General Committee and again in the Assembly is only half the story. Without the initiative of the Czech and Polish delegations and the support of Russia the admission of the Jewish Agency even to the Political Committee could not have been accomplished. History has a way of repeating itself. As in the case of Spain, the United States came around to a democratic position only after the initiative had been seized by others.

It is not difficult to guess why the Americans did not wish to have the Agency appear in the Assembly, despite its professions of sympathy. Probably the reasons were two: first, fear lest the appearance of the Agency would precipitate the whole discussion they had tried to avoid; second, fear of creating a precedent which at some later time might permit the appearance of the Chinese Communists in an eventual discussion on China, or of Korean opposition groups were Korea to come before the United Nations. Just why the fears of the American delegation should be diminished by the appearance of the Jewish Agency before the Political Committee, which is really a committee of the whole, is hard to understand.

Sir Alexander Cadogan

Sketches made from life by Oscar Berger

The appearance of the Jewish Agency before the Political Committee now seems assured, although the American resolution is studiously vague about the status the Agency representatives would have if allowed to express their views on the Palestine question. It is expected, however, that they will have full opportunity to be heard on all questions relating to the terms of reference of the commission of inquiry and its composition. If there were no other more fundamental reasons to justify the participation of the Agency, the behavior of the representatives of the Arab states in the United Nations makes its appearance imperative. In the meetings of the Political Committee and on the floor of the Assembly

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itself the Arab states have abused their privileged position by their endless harangues and their demands for the immediate establishment of an independent Palestine, which is to say, an Arab Palestine. At first they gave the impression of an able, if prejudiced team. Very soon, however, they overplayed their hand, and by the time the acute president of the Assembly, Oswaldo Aranha, called them to order, everyone had been surfeited with Arab protestations.

Now the stage seems to be set for another exposition of the Arab case, this time by representatives of the Palestine Arabs. In order to balance the appearance of the Jewish Agency, the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine may also be summoned, although it has no similar international status.

The British maneuver that brought this about was not a very subtle one. Just after the introduction of the American resolution which would have referred to the General Committee all requests for representation, one of Sir Alexander Cadogan's staff went over to the Arab delegation and inquired whether the Arab Higher Committee had asked to be heard. When he learned that no request had yet been presented, Sir Alexander promptly introduced an amendment to the American resolution providing that the General Committee should consider, not only applications already received, but similar applications received at any time during the session. This amendment was amiably accepted by the American delegation. Other maneuvers by other delegations in the days to come are likely to play still more directly into the hands of a group of men whose chief claim to attention is their unblemished record of pro-Axis intrigue—a record that should have sent them to Nürnberg rather than to Flushing.

In fact, it would be only mildly surprising, once an invitation to the Arab Higher Committee is approved, to find the Grand Mufti of Jersualem appearing on the rostrum of the United Nations as the newest spokesman of democracy. Or if his democratic credentials be questioned, Haj Amin el-Husseini could at least qualify as an expert in methods of liquidating the Jewish problem. Thus the Mufti, or his nephew Jamal Husseini, both former accomplices of Hitler, could by their appearance give to the United Nations that quality of "universality" which was so earnestly invoked when fascist Argentina was voted in at San Francisco.

Civil Rights—Fresh Start

BY ROBERT BENDINER

NINE months have passed since a band of Georgians stopped a car on a country road forty miles from Atlanta, dragged out two Negroes and their wives, and riddled all four with a volley of rifle bullets and gunshot. The country was properly shocked, as it always is over such demonstrative savagery, but its reaction followed a time-worn and futile pattern. Editorials blazed up, even in the most conservative papers, urging federal action if Georgia failed to do its duty. Georgia failed. Northern members of Congress redoubled their efforts to put through an anti-lynching bill. They lost. Justice Department officials sent agents down from Washington to see what could be done. They doubted that the civil-rights statutes applied. So far not one of the twenty-five or thirty killers has been arrested. What is worse, the whole gang could be rounded up tomorrow, with almost no chance that anyone would go to jail, much less pay the usual penalty for murder. With a few exceptions the country forgot the whole affair.

One of these exceptions was Tom Clark, a Southerner himself and not the most vigorous prosecutor who ever sat at the Attorney General's desk, but a man completely sold on civil liberties. Genuinely concerned over the frustrating limitations of federal law in this field, Clark went to the President and urged action. Truman was receptive, and early in December a White House release announced the creation of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Accompanying the appointment was a strong—and little-appreciated—statement acknowledging that "all parts of our population are not equally free from fear"; that "in some places, from time to time, the local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals—sometimes ex-service men, even women—have been killed, maimed, or intimidated." The Constitution, President Truman argued, places on the federal government "the duty to act when state or local authorities abridge or fail to protect" constitutional guaranties, but the government "is hampered by inadequate civil-rights statutes." It must be provided "with the tools to do the job."

The committee charged with designing the tools, and with broader approaches to the problem as well, was selected with skill and an eye to pertinent sectors of the population. Referred to by the irreverent as Noah's Ark, it includes two corporation heads and two labor representatives; two Jews, two Catholics, and two Protestants, (in each case one clergyman and one prominent layman); two college presidents; and two Negroes. Fif-

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teenth and odd man in the group is Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Meeting early in the year for its first session, the committee was sent on its way by the President with a ringing denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan and its imitators. The problem would grow worse, he told the members, if unemployment developed. They were to go as far as necessary in their inquiry and could count on complete cooperation from the Executive department. Concrete results were wanted.

Impressed by the President's obviously deep feeling, the group proceeded to divide itself into three subcommittees, following the three chosen lines of attack. The first of these is charged with making a study of existing federal law and bringing in recommendations for new legislation. Its members are the Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop of the Episcopal church; Francis P. Matthews, former Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus and a Papal Chamberlain; Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and formerly a member of the War Labor Board; John S. Dickey, president of Dartmouth College; and Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia, a director of the National Urban League, and a member of the Inter-Racial Committee of that city.

The second subcommittee, whose job it is to "consider the broader social, economic, and educational aspects of promoting the cause of civil liberty," is composed of Charles Luckman, the dynamic head of Lever Brothers Soap Company; the Most Reverend Francis J. Haas, Catholic bishop of Grand Rapids and once chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee; James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O.; Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and prominent Negro leader; and Rabbi Roland G. Gittelsohn, holder of the navy commendation medal for his services as Jewish chaplain with the marines at Iwo Jima.

The purpose of the third subdivision is to look into the work of private organizations whose activities affect vital civil rights. In this group are Morris L. Ernst, lawyer, author of "The First Freedom" and professional civil libertarian; Mrs. M. E. Tilley, active in social-relations work for the Methodist church in Atlanta, Georgia; Boris Shishkin, economist for the A. F. of L.; and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Veterans' Committee. Ex-officio members of all three groups are Charles E. Wilson, General Electric, who is chairman of the entire committee, and Robert K. Carr, its executive secretary. Carr is particularly well chosen. Chairman of the Department of Government at Dartmouth, he has spent the last two years on a grant-supported leave studying the whole problem of civil rights and particularly the role of the Department of Justice. So much for personnel.

NEW DIRECTIONS

The committee has just settled down to work, and it is much too early to predict with assurance the line of its recommendations, but new directions may be looked for. As one of the members insistently points out, there has been no new "social engineering" in this field for generations. Reliance has been placed on the criminal law, which is technically inadequate, as I intend to show, and impotent in any case where local *mores* make jury convictions improbable. New ideas are in the air.

In the field of discrimination itself—which is a social rather than a legal problem—several fresh approaches are sure to come up. One of these is recourse to the government's taxing power. Suppose, this theory runs, the Treasury were empowered to rule that contributions to organizations would in the future be deductible only if such money were to be spent without discrimination as to race, color, or creed? This would not seem to be far-fetched, since every such deduction is in a sense a burden on all taxpayers.

Similarly, the spending power of the government might be used as an indirect method of discouraging Jim Crow distinctions. This would apply to hospitals, to colleges now receiving G. I. funds, and to all other institutions that get occasional shots in the arm from Washington. The federal government would merely be saying in effect that the institutions of, say, Mississippi were free to indulge their beloved *mores* to the limit—but not with the aid of the national treasury. At least one member of the committee feels that this pocket-book method, vigorously and uniformly applied, would be far neater and more effective than resort to the criminal law, besides circumventing the whole messy issue of states' rights. In the same indirect pattern is the proposal, agitated in some quarters for a number of years, that printed matter sent through the mails be required to bear full disclosure as to its source, and as to its financing as well. Advocates of this approach believe that the worst of the crackpot organizations could not long survive this regulation, since fascist-minded millionaires have a delicate reticence that generally keeps them from taking public credit for the support of shady operations.

Almost certain to be recommended will be a set of local ordinances banning Jim Crow from the District of Columbia. The thought here is that the capital of the nation might well be made into a model for the rest of the country—no doubt in the hope that the contagion would spread. Well-disposed Congressional committees on the District in both House and Senate could go far in this direction, forbidding segregation in theaters, restaurants, and concert halls, and otherwise promulgating policy intended for emulation elsewhere. The peculiar attractiveness of this approach is that in no way could the argument be muddied by the moth-eaten appeal to states' rights.

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It is not to be supposed, of course, that any or all of these novel devices for encouraging respect for civil liberties could take the place of an adequate law to protect minorities from violent outrage or to insure them a fair economic opportunity and their full political rights. To these ends the committee is certain to review at length the prospects of getting anti-lynch, anti-poll-tax, and FEPC legislation past the Senate of the United States. But I gather that even in the matter of legislation new ways will be tried. Particularly, an effort is likely to be made to blanket as much as possible under one large and general statute, on the theory that such a measure can more readily be dramatized and would stand a better chance of passing.

The President's recent order calling for machinery to probe the loyalty of government workers is not on the committee's agenda, disturbed as some of its members may be over the dangerously loose nature of that document. The issues involved in the proposed loyalty investigation are considerably removed from the committee's chief concern, and it is naturally unwilling to jeopardize its chances of success by plunging into a controversy so highly charged with politics.

STATUTORY FOSSILS

The group's main line of attack is likely to be directed against Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, the two archaic and loosely drawn statutes on which the Department of Justice has been forced to rely in civil-rights cases. These are the pitiful remnant of what was once a whole series of civil-rights acts, passed with more enthusiasm than legal astuteness in the days of Reconstruction. All the rest have perished either by repeal or at the hands of the Supreme Court.

To understand why Tom Clark's men would be unable to do much about the lynchers of the four Georgians even if they managed to get witnesses to testify against them, it is necessary only to glance at these curious laws. Section 51, stripped of its legalisms, provides penalties "if two or more persons conspire" to bar a citizen from the enjoyment of his constitutional rights. Thus no one member of a mob can be convicted unless conspiracy is proved, which is always difficult. The committee will very likely recommend placing responsibility more directly on the individual. Note, too, that this law protects only citizens, and that their rights are not enumerated, which leaves far too much margin for interpretation. And, finally, the penalty is so drastic—ten years and/or a $5,000 fine—that jury convictions are all but impossible to get.

Section 52 is directed against state officials who "under color of any law . . . wilfully" deprive a person of his constitutional rights or impose on him punishments different from those provided. This was obviously designed to get at police officials who administer extra-curricular penal treatment to prisoners, especially where a difference in race is involved. But the catch is in the word "wilfully." The outstanding example of the weakness of this statute was the case of *Screws* vs. *United States*, a matter involving the fatal beating of a handcuffed Negro prisoner by a Georgia sheriff and two of his deputies. The officers, *mirabile dictu*, were convicted by Georgia juries, only to be freed by the Supreme Court. The decision took seven months, and came in the form of four separate opinions, totaling some 25,000 words; but the crux of the matter was that the trial judge had failed to instruct the jury on this point of wilfulness. The jurymen should have been told that in order to convict they would have to find that the slugging officers not only had "a generally bad purpose" but specifically "had the purpose to deprive the prisoner of a constitutional right, for example, the right to be tried by a court rather than by ordeal." Three of the justices—Roberts, Frankfurter, and Jackson—referred to Section 52 as "a dead letter" and even thought it unconstitutional.

It is apparent that these existing legal reeds are far too frail to lean on. And while no one on the committee would suggest such a thing, this is politically a good time to replace them with stronger ones. A Republican Congress—for both geographic and historical reasons the G. O. P. is generally more sympathetic to such legislation than the Democrats—might feel the need to push for much-needed reforms in a pre-election year, the season when minorities are traditionally cultivated.

In the Wind

SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH on Luzon, Robert Johnstone, Jr., of Downington, Pennsylvania, wrote a foxhole will bequeathing his $10,000 government-insurance benefits to a fund promoting better relations between the white and yellow races. A former member of the Japanese kamikaze corps will enter Lafayette College in the fall as the first beneficiary of Johnstone's legacy.

KATE SMITH has been rebuked, in the Lutheran Research Society's *Letter*, for being "definitely a radical."

THE BITUMINOUS COAL INSTITUTE has just put out a handsome two-color, twenty-four-page booklet on "Mining Towns—a Pictorial Story of Their Progress." Scattered through it are gleaming pictures captioned "Healthful, Modern Kentucky Coal Town," and the like. This booklet arrived in the morning mail on the day the papers carried news of the Centralia, Illinois, mine disaster.

VITTORIO MUSSOLINI, says the Associated Press, arrived "clandestinely" in Argentina a month ago and has been offered a job by a wholesale butcher. No italics necessary.

GOOD-NEWS DEPARTMENT: The army has abandoned the caste system—according to a directive of the Secretary of War—in military cemeteries.

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The Tragedy of De Gaulle

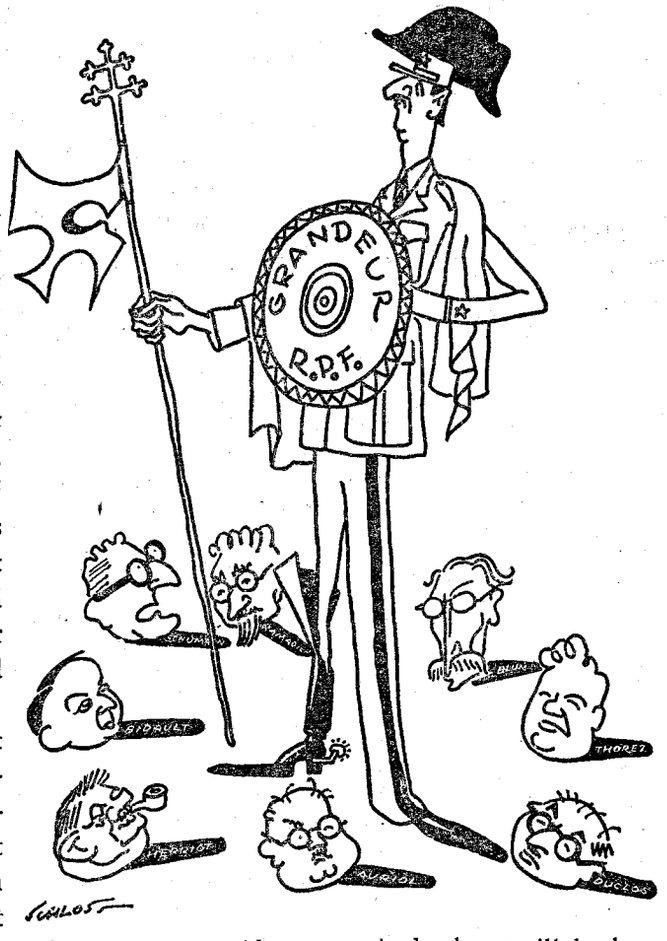
BY LEON BLUM

Paris, April 29

ONE day in April, 1946, I was in Canada. I held a press conference at Ottawa. I explained to the journalists present, to the best of my ability, the state of our industrial equipment, our need for coal, our commercial balance. One of the reporters asked me point-blank: "What future do you see for General de Gaulle in the political life of your country? Does he consider his retirement final?"

I was embarrassed, and my first reaction was to avoid the question. I could have done so: it was quite off my subject, outside my mandate. Then I said to myself, Why this embarrassment? Why should I remain silent? I am here in the country which of all the world feels perhaps closest to France. I need not hide what I think of General de Gaulle—past, present, or future. And so I answered my interrogator.

I have not saved the text of that reply, but I remember the sense of it very precisely. I said to my indiscreet confrère that in my opinion General de Gaulle did not consider his job finished, that the post-war world was difficult and uncertain, that the General could, without great effort, imagine a perilous situation arising in which the nation would instinctively rally around him. I did not believe, I went on to say, that such a chain of thought would be foreign to him, but that was pure hypothesis, and if I was not sure of what he *would* do, at least I believed I was sure of what he would *not* do. He hopes, I said, to remain a national figure, a symbol of the unity of the nation: he will thus deny himself any step which might make him the head of one party opposed to other parties, and most particularly the head of reactionary parties opposed to the parties of popular democracy.



A Gaullist party, however, now exists. General de Gaulle has become head of a party opposed to other parties. What are the forces which have rallied to his name, to his person? All the forces of reaction—of political reaction and social reaction. It is these which constitute the bulk of the army, its only stable and disciplined element. The Radicals quickly recognized their mistake; how could they conceal from themselves any longer that the undertaking was bound to lead to personal power? The M. R. P. (Movement Républicain Populaire), precisely because it has no republican traditions, cannot allow itself to be absorbed into a coalition in which it would inevitably lose all the distinctive characteristics which are its raison d'être. If its refusal causes the defection of certain elements, they will be the elements of the extreme right, which it has been trying to screen out for a long time.* Thus, sooner or later, General de Gaulle will have no organized forces behind him except those of the right. And whom will he be against? Against all the living forces of democracy.

What is now happening is exactly that which, in my innocence, I believed impossible. What could have caused such a change? What counsels, what compulsions could have acted upon General de Gaulle to bring about his metamorphosis into a different man? Loving his country to the point of wishing to incarnate it in himself, why did he resolve to embroil it in an era of dissension, of struggle, of suspicion, which will not easily be ended, alas—and this makes the situation so serious—by vote of the Assembly, or by referendum, or by elections?

General de Gaulle's effort will fail; of that I am convinced. But the failure will leave in its wake a divi-

LÉON BLUM, twice Premier of France before the war and again at the turn of 1946, is the leader of the French Socialist Party.

*The Socialists and Communists of course opposed De Gaulle from the beginning. On April 27 the M. R. P. also announced its opposition to the De Gaulle movement.

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sion, a sickness, a menace, which will continue to trouble and obstruct public affairs. It is impossible that a mind like his has not foreseen this consequence. How can he accept it with an easy conscience or, in any case, as a lesser evil?

I do not believe he is easily influenced, and I for one do not impute to him any self-interested or sordid motives. I am certain that neither ambition nor wounded pride has played a part in his decision. The only explanation I can think of is that General de Gaulle, with his pessimistic view of the international situation, sees France in such extreme peril that the concentration of authority in a strong hand has become a matter of life or death.

But all the dictatorships in history have attempted to justify themselves with this argument of *le salut public.* Moreover, I myself do not believe that catastrophe is inevitable. I am convinced that it can be avoided. I am convinced that it will be warded off. If the danger does exist, our duty is that much greater to maintain the civic and moral unity of the country by preserving our free institutions. To throw France into discord just so it may better meet an uncertain peril is like throwing oneself into the river to save oneself from a storm.

Who Should Rule the Sudan?

BY ROBERT HENRIQUES

FOR the last forty-eight years a patchwork area of eastern and central Africa has been called the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is now the subject of an appeal by Egypt to the Security Council. The problem is complex, but the real question is simple: "Who in the Sudan is to be the real boss?"

To hide this simplicity there have been minted for distribution many legal phrases whose deliberate obscurities seek to restrict, qualify, diminish the weight and relevance of the term "sovereignty." Yet whatever "sovereignty" may convey to an international assembly, it is translatable into Arabic, the language of Egypt and the *lingua franca* of northern Sudan, only by the word *seiada,* whose precise meaning is "boss"—in its harshest, least compromised significance.

Egypt wants to be boss of the whole Nile Valley, on which its life most literally depends. The Sudanese, at last becoming politically conscious, are learning to want to boss themselves. Britain—behind the constitutional façade of a condominium and beneath the illusive pretense of twin British and Egyptian flags that flutter over the (British) Governor General in Khartoum—is boss now. When the Sudan is politically adult, Britain has promised to walk out. The year 1966 is its proclaimed estimate. In the meantime no power so immature, so irresponsible, and so weak as Egypt can be left to sit alone on the airways to Middle Eastern oil. Not all of this will be said at meetings of the United Nations.

Much of it will be concealed behind British equivocation and Egyptian propaganda. The recent inanities of Whitehall were clearly meant only to be meaningless. But the spate of pronouncements from Cairo and its pan-Arabian slogans, official, indiscriminate, and brash, extend the issue to one of world import: "the indissoluble unity of the Middle East" (applied generally); "in the name of Arabism" (applied to the Sudan); "Sudan, land with a future, land of wealth!" (referring to British greed). In retort, British diplomacy has dug in smugly on the status quo.

Egypt is now developing a four-pronged attack—legal, historical, ethical, and ideological. *Legally* it has alternative pleas: first, that at the time of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreements (1899) it was under British domination, so that the condominium was imposed on it by force and is not valid; second, on the basis of acceptance of the condominium, that Britain has consistently declined its proper implementation. *Historically* Egypt claims that for sixty years of the nineteenth century the Sudan belonged to it by right of conquest. *Ethically* it asserts that the Sudan would be the better for Egyptian sovereignty and administration, and that Britain has no right to thwart this natural and beneficent evolution. *Ideologically* Egypt proclaims the geographical, ethnological, linguistic, and cultural unity of the Nile Valley, the kinship of the lands served by the great river, whose twin streams thread Abyssinia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, the Sudan, and Egypt.

A fifth and covering argument, a sort of general barrage contributed by both sides, is that whoever commands the Nile dams of the Sudan commands Egypt,

COLONEL ROBERT HENRIQUES served in Egypt and the Sudan from 1925 to 1930 as an officer in the British Royal Artillery. In World War II he was lent by Headquarters, Combined Operations, to the United States army, with which he took part in the North African and Sicilian campaigns. He is the author of "No Arms No Armor" and "The Voice of the Trumpet."

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and whoever commands Egypt commands the Middle East. Thus with the evacuation of British troops from Egypt, the Sudan acquires a new strategic stature. In an age of air power it is desperately significant.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA'S NILOTES

This Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as an entity, is a purely political creation of haphazard exploration and seizure. Circumscribed by no geographical or ethnological frontiers, its various parts are without mutual affinities, are in fact mutually antipathetic. Half of the peoples concerned are not naturally affected even by the Nile itself.

The whole Sudan is about the size of Europe, or a third the size of the United States; it supports a population less than that of London or New York, for the country has little natural wealth and no mineral resources. Its inhabitants sprang prehistorically from a blending of Caucasian and Negro. They speak some fifty or sixty different tongues of three main linguistic families—Semitic, Hamitic, and Sudanic.

In religion and culture they are equally diverse. Arab infiltration between the seventh and tenth centuries was extensive, but the Islamic variations which now preponderate in the north have never touched the 90 per cent paganism and the 10 per cent primitive Christianity of the south. Here, for instance, are a million Nilotes—cited for valiance by the Queen of Sheba in "Isaiah"—belonging to six main sub-species, but mostly tall, dark, conservative, unsociable folk with whom the Egyptians would not really care to claim cultural or ethnological unity. Their tribes, until their recent education, were ruled by hereditary rain-makers whom they buried alive on loss of virility. Separating these peoples from the Islamic north, about Latitude 12, runs one of the few natural but unmarked frontiers of the continent.

This invisible frontier dividing Africa from the Middle East was more or less ethnologically stabilized about 2,000 B. C. From then until seventy years ago it was crossed from the south only by those in the slave trade, a commerce which reached its most profitable heights during the Egyptian occupation of 1821-82. In the first few years of that misrule the annual slave hunts instituted by the Viceroy of Egypt netted over a quarter of a million head; and until a few years ago the Arabic word *sudani,* meaning literally a "black," was synonymous, in Egypt and the northern Sudan, with "slave."

KITCHENER AT KHARTOUM

The sixty-one years of nineteenth-century exploitation is the only period of modern history in which Egypt has ever exercised any sort of exclusive sovereignty over any part of the Sudan. This occupation was emphatically ended in 1882 by the religious rising of the Mahdi, the "Divine Guide to Salvation," who speedily expelled the Egyptian government and garrison troops.

In that same year the Egyptian government in Cairo collapsed into chaos under general insolvency, incompetence, riots, the mutiny of its unpaid army, and the Alexandria massacres. European intervention was declared inevitable. Britain stepped in, restored order, raised and trained a new Egyptian army—and stayed for forty years. During that time it was the paramount power in Egypt, which remained, until 1914, under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey. Then, when Turkey joined Germany in the war, Egypt was declared a British protectorate. In 1922 it was granted independence—for the first time since the Pharaonic era.

In renouncing deeds that were done in its name between 1882 and 1922 Egypt acts therefore on reasonable grounds. During that period it was not its own master. On the same grounds, however, Britain claims that without British intervention all legal and constitutional interest of Egypt in the Sudan would have been finally extinguished. Britain recalls that when Egypt was actively threatened with invasion by the Mahdi's successor, the Khalifa, it was Kitchener who led a force of one-third British troops and two-thirds British-trained Egyptians to reoccupy Khartoum and to hoist there, side by side, the British and Egyptian flags. It was under this same token of joint sovereignty that he and his British successors proceeded to quell and annex the Khalifa's various provinces.

In these ventures Kitchener barely forestalled the French. Coming in from their colonies in the west, they had already reached Fashoda, one hundred miles from Khartoum on the Nile itself. After what is now known as "the Fashoda incident," they were induced to withdraw. And a few years before that, the Italians from Eritrea and the Belgians from the Congo had entered the Sudan from east and south. Had it not been for political action by Britain at that time, and for its armed intervention between then and 1899, the Sudan would have been portioned among the other powers of Europe, most of it becoming a French colony.

CONDOMINIUM

Britain made the Sudan into a condominium rather than a British colony because by then its imperial appetite was satisfied—Gladstone had said, "We have got enough"—and because the country was too poor to be an appetizing dish. In the imperial sanctimony of those times a condominium seemed both liberal to Egypt and just. Its creation was partly a gesture of good faith. This, however, did not deter the lawyers from making a good job of it.

The salient and relevant points of the Condominium Agreements were two: first, that joint sovereignty was incontestably established; and, second, that while Egypt was to participate in the administration, British control of the administrative machine was firmly assured. Under

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Articles III and IV the Governor General was to be nominated by the British and formally appointed by the Egyptian government. He was granted unlimited powers and could be removed only with British consent. Constitutionally, therefore, the exercise of Egyptian sovereignty was in practice restricted to the creation of an *impasse*—by a refusal to appoint as Governor General the British nominee. This might well be Egypt's next step today.

The legal effects of the condominium were established in 1910 by a notable case in the Mixed Courts of Cairo. This was an international tribunal with European and Egyptian judges and proceedings conducted in French. On this occasion a contractor suing the Sudan government "joined" the Egyptian government on the ground that the Sudan had never ceased to be an integral part of Egypt. A large sum of money was involved, and the Egyptian government pleaded in defense that "by the agreement of 1899 the Sudan government was constituted an autonomous government absolutely separate and distinct from the Egyptian government." The court upheld this plea.

Legally, then, the best Egyptian case lies in admitting the validity of the condominium but alleging British neglect to implement it justly. Although British administration in the Sudan has been almost above reproach, Egypt has been allowed only the most limited participation. Until 1924 its officials held only subordinate posts, but when in that year they organized rebellion in the Sudan—Egyptian nationalists murdering the Governor General while he was on a visit to Cairo—they were sent home and replaced by newly educated Sudanese.

THE TREATY OF 1936

In 1936 a fresh Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed—to expire in 1956. It was at least overdue, for although Britain had granted Egypt independence some fourteen years earlier, it had not yet withdrawn its troops. This matter was rectified by the new treaty, and a twofold promise was made concerning the Sudan. First, Egyptian troops, which had been expelled from the Sudan after the rebellion of 1924, were to return. Second, all administrative posts for which suitable Sudanese could not be found should be open equally to British and Egyptian candidates.

The first promise was fully kept. By 1940, when the Italians invaded the Sudan, impressive Egyptian forces were there to meet them. They refused to open fire. Egypt was not at war with Italy. It was the Commonwealth which not only repelled the invaders but defeated Rommel in Egypt at Alamein. In all these operations Sudanese volunteer units played a valiant part. With the Eighth Army they advanced from Egypt to Tripoli. Meanwhile, Egypt declared its formal neutrality.

If the second promise was kept, it was only to the legal letter. A certain number of Egyptian officials have been appointed to administrative posts, but no Egyptian has yet been allowed to sit on the board that selects them. Some sort of justice may in fact have been done, but it does not appear so to the Egyptians. Nor can they accept the British proposition that such measures are already obsolete: that progress toward self-government in the Sudan has gone so far that there is no longer room for Egyptian middlemen, and that the country to be administered is by now more democratic than Egypt itself. This may or may not be true, but the fact remains that a negotiated treaty has not been honored—at least in spirit.

"BRITAIN MUST GO"

On these grounds alone Egypt would be hard to beat. But the redress of this legitimate grievance would not content it today. Britain, it says, must go. Until the last few months it had the Arab nations behind it. Behind them lay Russian sympathy. Palestinian troubles remain a pan-Arab stimulant.

While the support of the Arab states remained sure, no Egyptian claim was too absurd or audacious to be staked. "The visitor to the Sudan," says a pamphlet issued by the Egyptian government, "can clearly see that the standard of living is generally very low compared to Egypt's." In fact he will see the reverse. The poverty, feudal exploitation, and disease now seen in the Egyptian peasantry disappeared from the Sudan in the first decade of the century.

A further fiction is the alleged Sudanese support for Egyptian aspirations. Apart from the traditional hatred and contempt that the Sudanese tribes breathe toward Egypt, the adolescent politics of the towns are vociferously diverse. Less than 1 per cent of the population have actual political affiliations, the remainder confining their interest to local and provincial affairs. There are three political parties: the Patriots, or *Umma* (literally "nation"), who seek autonomy divorced from both Britain and Egypt; the Blood Brothers, or *Ashigga*, mostly of Egyptian or semi-Egyptian descent, who seek autonomy under the Egyptian crown; and the Center Party, now growing apace, which indorses for the moment the present administration but demands that progress toward self-government must be speeded up. As a background to politics it must be remembered that the Arabic word for the Egyptians, *Masreen*, remains a current and universal term of Sudanese abuse. It can be heard in any marketplace as the climax of unprintable epithets.

British response to this new Egyptian imperialism and its impact on Sudan politics has been remarkably inept. Bevin's lawyers found him a formula that they thought to be meaningless and on January 27 he spoke in the House of Commons of a "symbolic dynastic union between Egypt and the Sudan . . . without change in the existing order of administration." This would have been a fair enough diplomatic negative if he had not put into

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the draft protocol—which Egypt has rejected—the phrase "within the framework of the unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the common crown of Egypt."

To the ordinary man this means everything that the British Foreign Office does not. And it was explosive stuff. Lawyers in London set great store by the opening—"within the framework"—maintaining that it materially qualified the rest. It is, however, scarcely translatable into Arabic or any of the Sudan dialects. The length and breadth of the Sudan picked the words "unity . . . crown . . . Egypt." Police had to quell the protests.

The fire is smoldering. If the north wind that brings ease to this torrid land carries many more rumors of Egyptian sovereignty, the flames will leap again—as they did in the days of the Mahdi. And this time there will be blood to the debit of the British diplomats.

Election Day in Santo Domingo

BY ALBERT C. HICKS

JUST seventeen years ago this May the former pimp, forger, and cattle rustler Rafael L. Trujillo, using the terroristic methods of a military gangster, made himself President of Santo Domingo. In the years that followed he turned the country, only a few hours from Florida by air, into a chamber of horrors hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world.

In 1930 Trujillo chose May 16 to declare himself President because it was the national election day. Leaders of the opposition were dead or in hiding. Few votes were cast, although a record number were recorded—all for Rafael Trujillo. Since then three national elections have been held in Santo Domingo, each cut to the same pattern.

But the world has changed and Trujillo, to a degree, with it. On May 16 this year the Americas are to be treated to a pallid mockery of democracy at work in Santo Domingo. For the first time since the coup d'état of 1930 the ballots in the national election will name more than one candidate; two men will oppose the incumbent President, both of them handpicked by him. The innovation is an obvious attempt to quiet outside criticism of the totalitarian regime and to disarm politically the exiled oppositionists. But such democratic trappings only make the farce more obvious.

Trujillo started his present political maneuvers in the spring of 1945, when he announced that political parties would be free to organize in opposition to his own Partido Dominicano. He even supplied the money to finance opposition parties—and then picked the men to head them. As chief of the Republican Party he named his former revolutionary supporter and vice-president Rafael Estrella Ureña. Estrella mistook Trujillo's gesture for the real thing and loosed some mild criticism of the regime. He was immediately obliged to go into hiding. After some weeks he returned to the political scene as a silent oppositionist, and a few days later died very suddenly, the victim, it was officially announced, of a "burst appendix."

ALBERT C. HICKS is the author of "Blood in the Streets: the Life and Rule of Trujillo."

Dr. Wenceslao Medrano, chief of the Dominican army's medical corps, was placed at the head of the so-called Workers' Independence Party. Rafael Espaillat, Secretary of Agriculture in a previous administration, who had seized the tail of Trujillo's kite in 1930, was chosen to lead the new National Democratic Party. Both these men, after observing Estrella's misguided flare-up, announced that the planks in the platforms of their respective parties had already been fully realized by the efforts of the President.

Caricature by Seligson
Trujillo

The Republican Party died with Estrella Ureña. In 1946 Trujillo invited the Communists to organize an opposition party. The Communists were all in exile or in hiding, but on hearing of the invitation they came out of the woodwork and began to clout the government—from soap boxes, in a hastily published newspaper, and with slogans on placards publicly displayed in organized demonstrations. Trujillo forthwith smashed the Communist Party, killing several of its leaders and throwing others into prison.

By March of this year there was another change in the political scene. The Workers' Independence Party headed by Dr. Medrano had disappeared and been replaced by the Labor Party, which named as its presiden-

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tial candidate Francisco Prats Ramirez. Prats Ramirez is a journalist-columnist formerly on the staff of *La Opinion.* In his writings he has expressed unreserved praise of Trujillo and his regime. Rafael Espaillat has been on a mysterious mission with the Dominican embassy in Washington. He was recalled by Trujillo early in March to run for the presidency against him.

Estrella Ureña in 1945 and the militant Communists in 1946 taught Trujillo the wisdom of having foolproof safeguards against oppositionists, even those hand-picked from among his friends and political associates. So late last March laws appropriate to the situation were rushed through the Dominican Congress.

Law 1387 was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on March 26, by the Senate on the twenty-seventh, was signed by the President on the same day, and was published in his newspaper, *La Nación,* on the twenty-eighth. Article I of Law 1387 states that any person of Dominican nationality who with the purpose of defaming the republic or its institutions spreads false and malicious news among foreigners residing in or passing through the Dominican Republic, or who transmits such news abroad by any means of communication, will be condemned to from two to three years in prison. If this offense is repeated, the offender is liable to the maximum penalty of the law, which is five years in prison.

An amendment to Article 26 of Law 1384, also signed by the President on March 27, reads: Anyone in Dominican territory found receiving or trying to obtain cooperation from any foreign state or its agents, or any foreign institution, or any individuals in a foreign country, for the purpose of war against the republic or its government, or of manifesting any hostile feeling against the republic or its government, will be condemned to thirty years at hard labor. Another paragraph of the amendment was designed to intimidate Dominicans abroad, chiefly, of course, the political exiles. It forbids Dominicans anywhere to seek any financial help, official or private, for political activities against the government. The penalty is thirty years at hard labor.

Such is Trujillo's current version of democracy in Santo Domingo.

Several factors have forced Trujillo into decorating his political display window with a few spurious concessions to democracy. One is that Spruille Braden's anti-totalitarian policies have met with far greater acclaim in Santo Domingo than in Argentina. More important is the growing opposition both within and outside the country. Trujillo hopes to be able to say to the world at large and Washington in particular: See, I have been duly elected by the people of this republic! Then, he imagines, his critics at home and abroad will be silenced.

The feeling against Trujillo has become so widespread that he may even decide his only hope of retaining power is to relinquish his cherished title of "Presidente." He set a precedent for just such a maneuver in 1938, when his butchery of some 15,000 innocent Haitians outraged the world. In total disrepute Trujillo withdrew from the 1938 elections and had the title of Presidente pinned to a puppet. But he remained the Benefactor, the Savior of the Republic, the Generalissimo, and became a greater power than ever.

In 1942 two political parties put forward a candidate for the presidency—Trujillo's established Partido Dominicano and the newly formed Partido Trujillista. After the balloting the government announced that 391,708 votes had been cast for the Partido Dominicano's candidate, Trujillo, and 190,229 for the Partido Trujillista's candidate, Trujillo. The total of 581,937 was almost one-third of the nation's population and almost four times as many votes as were ever cast in a free Dominican election. Since women did not have the vote in 1942, the number of eligible voters was probably not more than 150,000.

If Trujillo decides upon a retreat in the manner of 1938, he will have to act before May 16, ostensibly retiring from the political scene on the plea of illness. His megalomania will never allow a rigged election to produce a majority of votes for another candidate. Late in March he apparently had every intention of seeing the election farce through to the end. Attired in all the splendor of an admiral out of Gilbert and Sullivan, he boarded the flagship of the Dominican navy and toured the coast cities of the country, some twenty small and large craft trailing behind. Wherever the Trujillo party disembarked, bands played, soldiers paraded, and the President addressed the populace, declaring that he, the Benefactor, would see that they had more of the same "benefits" after his reelection. While the Generalissimo talked through the gorgeously plumed hat of the Admiral, the opposition candidates repeated that the planks in their respective platforms had already been realized by the Benefactor.

The final election figures will no doubt be arrived at some time before election day, at the very latest on May 15. How they will read depends upon how well Trujillo can control his megalomania. He would be well advised to have it appear that he won merely by a fairly comfortable margin, for that might silence some of his foreign critics. Trujillo must certainly realize the advantage of making such a concession to probability and is probably even toying with the idea, but no one should be surprised to hear that he was "unanimously" elected for the fourth consecutive time.

If he allows the official figures to show a fair-sized vote for the opposition, and Dominicans are thereby encouraged to exhibit their distaste for the regime, the Benefactor will be prepared for any emergency.

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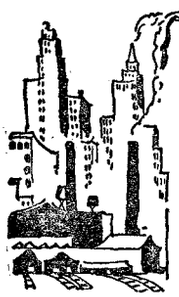

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Vanishing Building Boom

THIS is the season when the thoughts of realtors turn to subdivisions and the construction industries normally swing into their most vigorous stride. But this year many builders are looking at rows of unsold homes and putting their blueprints back in the files. Of course, there is still plenty of demand for their product—but not at current prices.

Among the industries which have been pricing themselves out of the market since the OPA was abolished last fall, those manufacturing builders' supplies take a foremost place. The Federal Housing Authority's index of building materials (average of 1935-39 equals 100) rose from 153.8 in November, 1946, to 177.9 in February, with the cost of lumber alone jumping 44 per cent. This advance, coming on top of a long steep rise from pre-war levels, seems to have broken the back of the market for the time being. It means that a two-bedroom house with a minimum number of amenities is now in the $10,000 class, requiring a purchaser who must have a weekly income of at least $90 if carrying costs are not to overburden his personal budget.

In 1940, according to *Business Week* of February 22, a home seeker in a Kansas City suburb could buy for $10,500 a brick-and-frame house on a corner plot a lot and a half wide. It had six rooms, including three bedrooms, two baths, and a basement recreation room. In the same development today the same money will buy only a five-room, two-bedroom frame bungalow with one bath and space for a basement game room. And it will be on an inside lot. Even families whose incomes can swing a proposition of this kind are unlikely to be tempted, since they fear that within a few years its resale price will be several thousand dollars lower. Unless their in-laws are unbearable, they will go on "doubling up" and wait for costs to come down.

A considerable fraction of the emergency demand for new homes seems to have been satisfied last year. At this time there are several thousand completed houses in New York City and its suburbs for which purchasers at present prices cannot be found, and similar stories are coming in from other centers. As a result, some builders are offering small price cuts—big ones would ruin them—while others have stopped building. In January 73,273 permits were issued for new houses, in February 47,512, in March 33,551. During the same months actual residential building fell 20 per cent below government forecasts. Consequently official estimates of housing expenditure for 1947 have been drastically revised from the original figure of $6,000,000,000 to something between $4,250,000,000 and $4,800,000,000.

Nor is residential building the only branch of the construction industry which has been perceptibly slowed down in recent months. The latest four-week daily-average figure of engineering construction awards published by the *Engineering News-Record* stands at $18,936,000, compared with $22,341,000 a year ago. In March privately financed industrial construction was 18 per cent below the October-November peak. Business interests, for all their dislike of buyers' strikes, are in fact staging one of their own, and only concerns desperately in need of larger space are contracting for new plant. With costs 100 per cent or more above pre-war levels, they too are sitting back and waiting for prices to drop.

The combined slump in residential and business construction is a pretty serious portent for our economy as a whole. Today the share of construction in total national output is far less than it was in the booming twenties, and unless this ratio is improved we are likely to see a decline in capital formation below the level needed to sustain our present high national income.

It may not be too late to save the day if a really effective reduction in costs can be achieved in the near future. One good sign is a softening in lumber prices, and a builder friend tells me that various subcontractors in the New York district are beginning to trim their rates. On the other hand, the attitude of so important a firm in the building-supply field as Johns-Manville is not encouraging. Just the other day the chairman of this company, deploring the Washington "ballyhoo" that was leading people "to expect too big a reduction in prices," said: "There is not much room for lowering prices of Johns-Manville products, and I don't think we will lower them." In the next breath he added, "We are in a position to lower them if we have to in the event of a recession."

There can be no doubt that manufacturers of building supplies are making plenty of money. The April issue of the National City Bank *Letter* provides the following comparison of 1945 and 1946 earnings:

	Net Profits	
	1945	*1946*
24 lumber companies	$20,165,000	$43,764,000
17 paint and varnish	20,675,000	43,764,000
23 cement	4,634,000	17,186,000
37 stone and clay products	29,047,000	61,819,000
64 building heating, plumbing	42,359,000	62,051,000

Returns for the first quarter of this year show an accelerated upward trend, with profits of individual companies two, three, and four times as large as in the first three months of 1946.

Such profits are obviously the fruits of near-capacity production, which will not continue for long if potential consumers of houses and factories refuse to buy. Yet, my builder friend tells me, a moderate reduction in costs—20 to 25 per cent—would almost certainly bring back the now wilting demand to a vigorous growth. The potential market for housing, at any rate, remains enormous. According to the tremendous survey of "America's needs and resources" just published by the Twentieth Century Fund, 16,000,000 out of a total of 37,000,000 dwellings in the United States need replacement or major repairs. The satisfaction of these needs would make possible a sustained housing boom, but until all factors in the industry—suppliers, contractors, and labor—make a concerted effort to reduce costs, that is likely to remain an idle dream.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I RECENTLY READ an interesting if gloomy account in *Horizon* for January of the behavior, since the defeat, of German writers who remained in the Third Reich. It was written by Heinrich Fischer, whose name is not familiar to me but who seems to be very well informed. According to Mr. Fischer, "Grotesque confusion reigns. . . . It is so grotesque that one is often scarcely able to distinguish which of the German writers was a criminal accomplice of Hitler and which was one of Hitler's victims."

In his opinion the roots of this confusion were imbedded in pre-Hitler Germany.

> In other countries the creative writer sets the intellectual fashion; in Germany the fashion creates the writer. There have been cases where German writers, within a single decade, have changed not only their political convictions but also their style, and their whole approach to literature and life, and changed them not only once but three or four times.

He cites Gerhart Hauptmann and Hans Carossa as extreme examples, and says that the "easy, automatic conversion" to National Socialism of most of the writers who remained in Germany after Hitler came to power was only a new and terrible manifestation of an old tendency.

After the defeat writers who had collaborated with the Nazis unblushingly offered their services to the victors—as if National Socialism had merely been another unsuccessful fashion. They apologized for their "weakness" but in terms which gave no indication that they would not be "weak" again if the occasion arose. Mr. Fischer quotes as example the apology, or rather the apologetics, of Otto Flake, one of the fashionable authors of the Nazi years.

> We yielded to pressure. Certainly we yielded to pressure, but that was in innumerable cases with the significance of the Chinese philosophy of Tao—to bend, not to break, but to survive. In Germany we have learned the lesson that one should develop one's personality in fields other than political. *The example of Goethe is still our persuasive teacher* [the italics, I assume, are Mr. Fischer's, and no wonder].

Thomas Mann's refusal to return to Germany—his refusal, as he put it, "to set myself up as the standard bearer of what seems to me at the present moment at any rate an entirely fictitious modern German movement"—gave rise to a wave of apologetics all over Germany. (Mann's refusal was contained in a letter, of which Mr. Fischer prints the important passages, written in response to Walter von Molo, who appealed to Mann in an open letter printed in the press to come back and be the leader of the German intellectuals, "to march forward in the very forefront of the battle.") It was a novelist, Frank Thiess, who hit upon the theory of the "inner emigration." He and other writers who had continued to function under the Nazi regime were, he said, "secret émigrés," and although their books had brought them credit and cash, the internal suffering of their souls had been indescribable as they thought how powerless they were to ward off the inevitable fate of having to sign up as members of the Goebbels Chamber of Culture.

The worst of it was, as Mr. Fischer says, that "the language of these new champions" expressed the "same old divorce from reality," the "isolation of mind," the "nebulous mysticism" which he considers to have been the bane of German writers for a generation at least and one of the elements that made it possible for Hitler to come to power in the first place. Witness this passage from Thiess's reply to Thomas Mann:

> We know not from what heights, nor from whose hands, the seed will fall which is to make fruitful the German soil, but suffering also is seed and springs up transformed from the dying grain of wheat up to the light. . . . A God, who led this people into the deepest hell, etc., etc.

Which might be described as full of sound and Führer and signifying exactly nothing.

A few writers, says Mr. Fischer, have sharply criticized this "pseudo-metaphysical mush." He notes that the Austrians have shown more sense of reality than the Germans; and he quotes a rather crude but telling comment by the Viennese Alfred Polgar on the "involuntary Hitler authors."

> All these artists of the Hitler Reich *had* to—*force majeure!*—enter the Literary Chambers, the Culture Chambers, the Theater Chambers, or the Press Chambers. But I cannot bring myself to weep for them with all my heart. My sympathy is reserved for those who had to enter the Gas Chambers.

SOME WRITERS who remained in Germany, as Mr. Fischer is careful to point out, did pursue the path of "inner emigration." One of these was the East Prussian novelist Ernst Wiechert, who was consistently anti-Nazi and was interned for a time at Buchenwald. And he is also one of the few who, since the defeat, have spoken plainly to his fellow-Germans, including writers, about their responsibilities and obligations.

Knowing this I picked up with a good deal of interest a novel by Wiechert, "The Girl and the Ferryman," which has just been published here by the Pilot Press ($2.75). The jacket makes much, understandably, of his consistent opposition to the Nazi regime. It has this to say about the novel itself: "Some may see in the clear lyrical outlines of 'The Girl and the Ferryman' a symbol of the plight of a humanity which nearly loses its way in its struggle with evil."

I was disturbed to discover a tale of a strong simple peasant and of a girl who comes into his life and transforms it; to find evil personified in a sex-obsessed Mormon preacher—he wreaks his will on innocent female converts, and his influence, we are led to believe, brings on a series of natural disasters. However, being predisposed to Mr. Weichert, I let this pass, and having been urged to read significance into the tale I conscientiously tried to do so. The Mormon Maclean must be Hitler. (To one who had grown up

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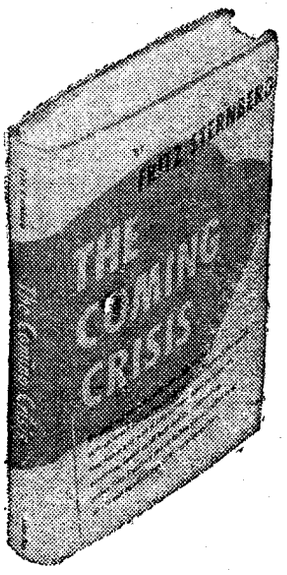

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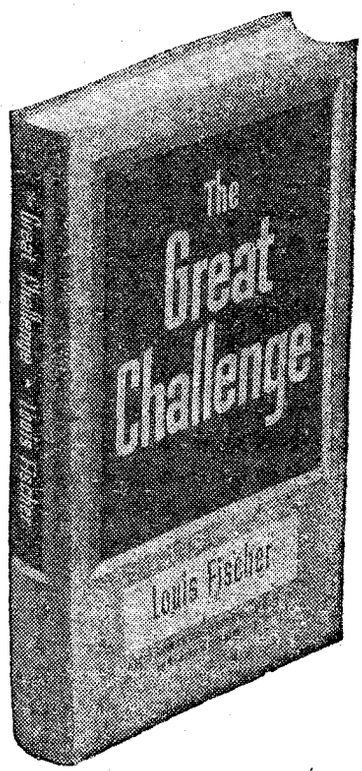

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among the present prosaic communicants of that religion, the device of using an early archaic Mormon as devil seemed a bit far-fetched, but I reflected that an anti-Nazi in Hitler's Germany should be allowed a good deal of license.) The girl must symbolize the German people.

It was only when I had read a good many pages that it occurred to me that the novel had nothing at all to do with recent German history and was probably an early work of Wiechert's—he is now sixty—which was being published here now on the strength of his present reputation as one of the few German writers in Germany who managed to survive honorably.

The writing shows talent. It is lucid and "lyrical" as publishers say. But though the vessel is translucent, the contents are murky. The book is permeated by that crude and utterly humorless "mysticism" which we have come to think of, alas, as Germanic and which Hitler exploited.

Upon inquiry I learned that "The Girl and the Ferryman" was first published in 1932. I think that fact should have been clearly stated on the jacket and in the book. For I suspect that most readers will get the impression, as I did, that this is a recent book out of the "new" Germany and will be interested in it for what it may reveal of the present, and possible future, of that unhappy land. And they may well conclude that if this is what an anti-Nazi writer has to offer after twelve years' experience of Hitler's rule, they are justified in feeling pretty hopeless about the German future.

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AS ONE WHO ENJOYS and often perpetrates puns and plays on words I resent the way they are being done to death for commercial purposes by the writers of advertising copy. Eventually the public prints will come to have a resemblance, strictly coincidental, to the pages of James Joyce, and a form of verbal play which is fun as long as it is spontaneous will be utterly discredited. Moreover, puns unspontaneously arrived at are dangerous to those who spin them. Not long ago I met a copy writer who literally conversed in puns and plays on words. It was evident that he found it as trying as I did, but it was also evident that he was powerless to control a habit which probably had its beginnings in an advertising conference when it was up to him to produce a punch line. The copy writer who thought of calling a dress a "Sunday supplement" and went on to murmur something about "a month of Sundays" had better take himself in hand.

Advertising in general, it seems to me, is reflecting more and more that frenzy of the copy writer in the competitive society who knows that he must find a new way of praising a product or find a new way of making a living. The advertisements for perfumes have long since gone berserk in their efforts to prove that a whiff of this or that fragrance will cause even men of distinction to go berserk. The most recent example I've seen of this genre shows two lovers floating and embracing in mid-air in the vicinity of a slender tower in a background suggesting fairyland. It did seem to me that they had gone too far, and that it was too bad they didn't have a more secure and private place to repair to until the fumes wore off.

Observing another advertisement for perfume, I was rather pleased to see, for a change, not a scene of artificially induced passion but the head of a pretty girl with spring flowers in her hair. But they were not *in* her hair, they *were* her hair. What's more, two delicate tendrils formed her brows, and her eyes and mouth were really two bluebirds and a scarlet tanager.

What intrigues me most, however, is the advertising that fastens on a quality which is completely irrelevant to the uses of the product. The outstanding example is the claim for the ball pen that it will write under water. I am now awaiting the appearance of an advertisement which tells me that another unique feature of the ball pen is that a man who manufactures them recently flew around the world in seventy-eight hours and fifty-five minutes.

SOMEONE HAS HANDED me a copy of the *Contemporary Writer*, a small four-page bulletin. The main headline announces that Fast (Howard) and Caldwell (Erskine) have been elected chairmen of Contemporary Writers, an organization, and half of a column is devoted to this news. The rest of the column deals with the recent barring from public-school libraries of "Citizen Tom Paine" by Howard Fast. The author of the month, featured on page two, is Julius Fast. On page three is a letter from Howard Fast saying that he is extremely happy that he has been chosen as one of the chairmen of Contemporary Writers. On page four a novel by Barbara Fast is listed with a number of other books and stories. There is also a report saying that "CW's new co-chairman, H. Fast, hasn't gone Hollywood, but two of his books have." At the bottom of this page is a coupon for those who wish to join CW, which starts off with "Dear Howard Fast and Erskine Caldwell." In the correspondence column is a letter signed Luke Faust. Must be a typographical error.

A YOUNG FRIEND OF MINE who is mad about baseball was telling his mother that the Phillies had beaten the Boston Braves twice the day before.

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His mother, who tries to share her son's interest, replied, "You mean they played two games at once?"

An older friend remarks that in view of the talk she hears from intellectuals these days about the futility of it all, she could not help noting the speed and unanimity with which they rushed out to be vaccinated against smallpox.

Apologia for the White Paper

PALESTINE: STAR OR CRESCENT? By Nevill Barbour. The Odyssey Press. $3.

NEVILL BARBOUR'S book is, as I read it, an attempt to prove that the Jews have very little historical connection with the land of Palestine, and that "the existing population of Palestine should be formed into an independent state." It is, in brief, an apologia for the notorious White Paper of 1939, for under existing conditions an independent state would mean of course simply another Arab state. Worldwide Jewry should have learned by this time that minority guaranties mean very little in the Arab world.

Mr. Barbour deals in gentle terms with Haj Amin el Husseini, the former Mufti of Jerusalem. This is the way he describes the Mufti's activities in Jerusalem: "Rashid Ali, the Prime Minister, who headed the rising, together with Haj Amin and other leaders, found his way to Germany, whence the two principal leaders indulged in radio propaganda against Britain." Actually the Mufti took an active and leading part in the campaign for the extermination of European Jewry. His files, which were captured with him in Germany at the end of the war, show conclusively that he broadcast repeatedly from Berlin urging that the Jews be killed. For example, on November 3, 1943, in one of these numerous exhortations to the Arabs, he said, "The Treaty of Versailles was a disaster for the Germans as well as the Arabs, but the Germans know how to get rid of the Jews."

Mr. Barbour contends that the Palestinian Arabs were "inclined to sympathize with the democratic rather than the Fascist powers, in spite of the propaganda in which the latter indulged." He goes on to say that they not only abstained from any action which might hinder the war effort, but also "contributed quite substantially to military and labor forces recruited locally." Actually, as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry unanimously found, the Arab community of Palestine showed itself largely indifferent to the outcome of the war. Out of a population twice as large as the Jewish, only 12,445 Palestinian Arabs were recruited for military service as compared with a total Jewish recruitment of 27,028.

Mr. Barbour's book has the outward appearance of careful scholarship, but it contains many statements such as those I have described which are in conflict with the facts as the Committee of Inquiry found them. His book does, however, point up the desperate need for a definitive American policy, not only in relation to Palestine, but to the entire Middle East—a policy of which Palestine must be the center, for it is only in Palestine in the whole of the Middle East that one finds democracy in action, a dynamic, positive democracy in the everyday life of the people.

It is true that Palestinian Jewry has been so deeply concerned with the matter of simple survival that it has not been able to do as much as it would like to raise the living standards of the Palestinian Arabs, but a real start has been made in spite of the opposition of colonial officials who have little sympathy with this great experiment of the Jewish National Home.

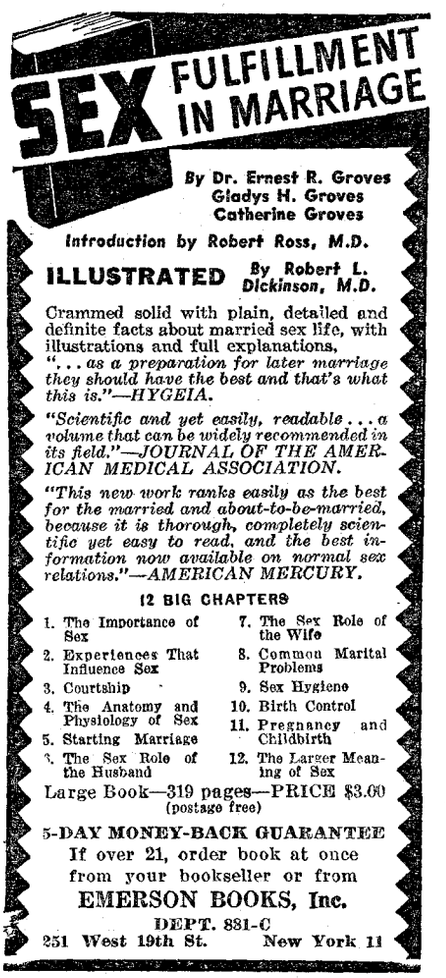
BARTLEY C. CRUM

Shakespeare as Theater

PREFACES TO SHAKESPEARE. Volume I. By Harley Granville-Barker. Princeton University Press. $5.

IT IS arguable, I think, that Granville-Barker has contributed more to our understanding of Shakespeare than any other commentator of this century. If he has, it is because he has put to the test of the theater all the enormous burden of suggestions about the plays which has accumulated in the last hundred and fifty years. An unhappy, obsessive concern for particular aspects of the plays has characterized commentary since sometime in the eighteenth century, say when Morgann began to weave his fancies and Doctor Johnson's saving common sense went out of style. What Morgann did by way of fanciful elaboration of a single character is child's play, of course, to what the literary specialists of an age of specialization have been able to do; we have been bullied in turn by all of them, from Stoll to Knight.

Nor has it been an easy thing to bring all these suggestions to the test of the theater. One of the important reasons why the study of Shakespeare has withdrawn from the theater is the incredible persistence—exceptions like Macready have been rare—with which the theater has concentrated on everything that does not matter. The judgments of people like Lamb and Bradley, as Barker points out in the revised section of his "Lear" preface, are based on the assumption that this stupid disregard for the end object of the drama which has characterized the commercial theater from the time of Lamb to Miss Webster is inherent in the medium. The assumption is absurd of course; Shakespeare's plays were written for the theater by a very practical man of the theater; there could be no better evidence of the potentialities for greatness possessed by the me-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dium. But to achieve the kind of knowledge both of medium and dramatist which will allow you to bring Shakespeare to the test, not of "theater" in the Broadway or drama-school sense, but of the theater in the best sense, is not easy. That knowledge Granville-Barker, perhaps alone in our time, had. (How he got it is shown, at least in part, in Shaw's recent tribute in *Harper's*, so characteristically called Barker's Wild Oats.)

The result of his systematic application of this knowledge is the disciplined development of sensitivity to Shakespeare's plays in the only direction where to go to the extreme is not to become absurd. Barker always sees a Shakespeare play in a possible production. This production is idealized in the sense that it assumes, just as we assume when we are talking about music, the maximum skill in the performers; it is not idealized in the sense that it assumes effects which are not possible at all within the medium. Thus all the viable insights which we owe to the closet critics, from Coleridge to the present, are visualized for us in a possible production in which, at every step, the inner intent of the play is being realized by characters in action. Few things, I believe, can be more exciting to a lover of the theater than to see how Barker works through to the heart of a play's intent, and then discusses with his wonderful and persuasive insight the precise way in which each scene —and, where there is space, each speech, each piece of business—can make its contribution to that intent in performance. He draws out, speech by speech, the ebb and flow of feeling and attitude beneath speech and gesture in such a scene as the meeting of Caesar and Antony (II, ii), or—and how different a scene it is—in the concluding scene of "Cymbeline"; he never lets us forget the significance of what he calls the "physical aspect of a play's action"—the revelation of character in the almost silent Hamlet who listens to the player king, the effect of Portia's and Nerissa's watching as Bassanio "comments on the caskets to himself," the complete rightness of Cordelia's strained silence as she watches the newly awakened Lear for signs of sanity ("No cause, no cause!"); he shows us the hints of tempo, tone, and manner which a producer learned in the Elizabethan stage and practiced in the theater can see. Everything of this kind is laid before us with the easy persuasiveness of a man who wears his learning lightly, never rides a hobby, and knows that the theater is not just a gregarious art but a great one too.

It is a credit to the Princeton Press that they are at last making these prefaces available in America. Five of them are in this first volume: the long "Hamlet," "Lear," "The Merchant of Venice," "Antony and Cleopatra," "Cymbeline"; and the rest are to follow in a second volume. Mr. Conkwright has made a handsome and manageable book of this first group of prefaces, despite their length, and I wish the footnote on page 77 referred to the proper page in this edition instead of to the proper page in the English edition.

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Prescription for Doctors

MEDICINE IN THE CHANGING ORDER. Report of the New York Academy of Medicine, Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order. Commonwealth Fund. $2.

THE mantle of the New York Academy of Medicine is spread over this report by a committee of fifty persons, mostly physicians, who have been pursuing studies of "medicine and the changing social order" for the last three years. This professionally distinguished sponsorship insures a valuable educational document for medical men. Most doctors need it! For thirty years the *Journal of the American Medical Association* has furnished the profession with one-sided information about the economic problems of medical care and the course of events in this country and abroad.

This handy little volume reviews the technical advances which have made medical services much more effective than formerly but also much more costly. It summarizes the social and economic changes in American life which have made it more difficult for most people to meet these costs. It recapitulates the problems of medical care in urban and rural areas; of needed extensions of public-health services and tax-supported medical care; of medical education, hospitalization, nursing, preventive medicine, and group medical practice. Neither the facts nor the ideas presented with them are original contributions. But they are compounded here in polished capsules, with all the rough edges removed and under an attractive label, so that they will be digested by a great many doctors, dentists, administrators, and lay hospital trustees, to whom the same dose in the pages of *The Nation* would be wholly unpalatable.

The committee's recommendations sum up to two: extend group medical practice as a means of improving the quality of medical care; promote voluntary health insurance as the chief means of making it easier for most people to pay for it. Government should help in various already accepted ways and might subsidize voluntary plans, but governmental health insurance would be a dangerous experiment.

These recommendations are essentially the same as those which were made by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in 1932, and which the *Journal of the American Medical Association* then damned as "socialism and communism, inciting to revolution." Today the American Medical Association and many of its state medical societies are themselves committed to the extension of voluntary health insurance, and group practice gets official lip-service.

Unfortunately the Academy committee does not even explore the really difficult problems of public subsidy to private health-insurance plans, a rapidly emerging issue to which a real contribution might have been made. Today the issues of medical charity versus health insurance and of compulsory versus

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voluntary health insurance are being fought out in an area more advanced than the ground timidly staked out by the Academy. Its report will nevertheless help to move the rear guard forward. MICHAEL M. DAVIS

All Done with Words

LIFE AND THE DREAM. By Mary Colum. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

THE varieties of autobiography are nearly as numerous as those of religious experience. There is the autobiography which is designed to show the narrator in all his or her nakedness, with the faults made into glories; such is the work of a Casanova, a Rousseau, or, on a very different plane, a Peggy Guggenheim. There is the anonymous autobiographer who for the benefit of posterity notes down his reminiscences of those he has known who were great, though he himself may be negligible—a Henry Crabb Robinson with his diary and his inquisitive nose. Then there is the autobiographer who becomes an artist and succeeds in creating a mythology in which everyone, great or little, plays a definite part; it is to such books, written, say, by Benjamin Robert Haydon, W. Graham Robertson, or Elizabeth Bowen, that the reader returns again and again.

Mrs. Colum's memoirs are of this third class. She does not retail scandal or presume upon her friendship with the well-known to indulge in witticisms at their expense. When she disapproves she does so out of her own strong-mindedness and not to catch the pennies of her readers. This is to say that her book is an honest and a valuable one. Naturally, as the friend of such figures as Elinor Wylie and James Joyce, her book will become a source for information about them, but even if she had known nobody of importance, "Life and the Dream" would have been a book to read and remember. Its picture of an Irish childhood is as brilliantly observed and written as anything by Maria Edgeworth.

To find fault with such a book may appear ungrateful, but I cannot refrain from making one protest: I think that Mrs. Colum is less than generous to Harriet Shaw Weaver, who ran the *New Freewoman,* a suffragette periodical which later became the *Egoist,* serializing both Joyce's "Portrait of the Artist" and Wyndham Lewis's "Tarr." Miss Weaver gave Joyce a very large sum of money and she gave it to him in a lump; Joyce certainly enjoyed this temporary feeling of extreme wealth and behaved as if the money was elastic. But to blame Miss Weaver for her kindness seems hardly fair; what fault there was was on Joyce's side, though it is difficult to condemn a man who had known such poverty for suddenly blossoming into a spendthrift.

However, this is the only point at which Mrs. Colum seems to be unjust; her treatment of Elinor Wylie, who was a difficult and intolerant snob, is more than kind. Her picture of the Irish Celtic revival is sympathetic and carefully observed, and she weaves a pattern out of the characters and their idiosyncrasies that will be a great help to any student of the period.

Perhaps the key to the charm of "Life and the Dream" lies in a phrase which Mrs. Colum uses about one of her stories: "Like a lot of my countrymen, I had fooled the Englishman with words." She knows how to use words to make her writing vivid, and is sufficiently skilled in spell-binding to convince at least one reader that today the minstrel boy would not need to go to the wars to find fame—the publishers of London and New York would arrange it for him. RUTHVEN TODD

Films

JAMES AGEE

WITH deep regret I must postpone my attempt to review Chaplin's "Monsieur Verdoux." I cannot hope to do it justice, but I do prefer to discuss it a little more coherently than I have been able to, to date. In case this leaves any doubt of my opinion of the film, let me say that I think it is one of the best movies ever made, easily the most exciting and most beautiful since "Modern Times." I will add that I think most of the press on the picture, and on Chaplin, is beyond disgrace. I urge everyone to see "Monsieur Verdoux" who can get to it.

Well, to resume my skulk through the alphabet. I was down through *I* as in Ivan. Meanwhile a *B,* three *C's,* and a particularly fragrant *E* have sprung up behind me.

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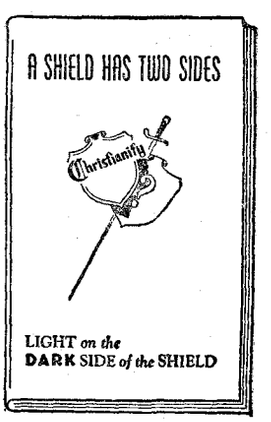

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Tagliavini (Almaviva), Tito Gobbi (Figaro), Italo Tajo (Basilio), and other competent and attractive Italians. The sets are rather pathetically flea-bitten, the sound is not awfully good, the lighting is drab; you watch the conventions of opera through the most transparent of movie conventions. I suppose it is rather dull, but I liked it.

"Carnegie Hall" is about the thickest and sourest mess of musical mulligatawny I have yet had to sit down to, a sort of aural compromise between the Johnstown flood and the Black Hole of Calcutta. I have an idea that some of the music was well done, but I was so exhausted by suffering and rage that I can't possibly be sure of what. However, as a gnarled mirror of American musical taste at its worst, and as a record of what various prominent musicians look like under strange professional circumstances, it is a permanently fascinating and valuable show. There is, for a single instance, the protracted spectacle of Stokowsky—shot from the floor—who seems to be undergoing for the public benefit an experience, while conducting a portion of Tschaikowsky's Fifth Symphony, which men of coarser clay wish exclusively on women, or perhaps on albums of prefabricated trade-union folk songs. I am sorry to be writing this way about "Carnegie Hall," for I can't avoid feeling that some rather good intentions were involved in it. But then I can't doubt that Hitler had good intentions. He and I just didn't see eye to eye.

"The Captive Heart," a British movie about prisoners of war, has been greeted as a masterpiece by some of the reviewers who, only too literally, couldn't "see" "Monsier Verdoux." So now we know what a masterpiece is: something that isn't either really bad or by any generosity really good; another of those group-as-hero stories, a dangerous cliché in the first place, in which each member of the group is just one more cliché; and something truly creative for Michael Redgrave, a Czech who for self-protection is forced to take on a dead Englishman's identity and to write the widow love letters—with his left hand, of course, in order not to tip his mitt. This decent, mediocre film is sincerely but often cornily written and is in general honestly acted. It all takes its measure—about ankle high—against a number of beautiful shots which were made in a camp in North Germany. These shots are made in a style closely related to the style which is called archaic, or worse, when Chaplin uses it; and Chaplin uses it all the time, for incomparably richer and subtler purposes.

"Carnival in Costa Rica" is a Technicolor musical with a score by Lecuona. I liked the score, some fine Costa Rican backgrounds, a medium-good solo by Massine, who designed the generally uninteresting dances, and the dancing and acting of Vera-Ellen. I even liked Dick Haymes. I was also interested to see that Ann Revere, as a Kansan, was shown to be happily married to J. Carroll Naish, as a thoroughly Costa Rican coffee planter. If this sort of un-American propaganda takes decent hold in Hollywood, the day will come when the husband of a high-bridged daughter of the Confederacy will shag into the scuppernong arbor playing ootchmagootch to a slice of watermelon and reciting "Ballad for Americans," between spat seeds, in an Oxford accent.

"The Egg and I" asks you to believe in, and laugh at, Fred MacMurray and Claudette Colbert as nauseatingly clownish city people who try their hands at poultry farming. Marjorie Main, in an occasional fit of fine, wild comedy, picks the show up and brandishes it as if she were wringing its neck. I wish to God she had.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN ENGLISH critic, Martin Cooper, writing in the *Spectator* not long ago, characterized Delius as "an artist with a vein of unquestionable originality, a musician-poet with an exquisite sense of orchestral color and a haunting sense of the evanescence of beauty"; described "the process familiar in his orchestral works by which any melody . . . that appears immediately becomes a melisma, an ornamental phrase varied and repeated but never growing or developing into a melodic line"; and contended that "the static and amorphous quality of his inspiration absolutely disqualifies him from the larger forms," but enables him to produce "the beautiful and original miniatures for orchestra."

The truth of his statements is demonstrated by two works that have just appeared on records: on the one hand the monotonously amorphous Violin Concerto, well-performed by Sammons and the Liverpool Philharmonic under Sargent, and beautifully recorded (Columbia Set 672; $4); on the other hand the hauntingly lovely "Walk to the Paradise Gardens" from "A Village Romeo and Juliet," well-performed by Goosens with the Cincinnati Symphony, and excellently recorded (Victor 11-9493; $1)—though my copy wavers in pitch and has bad surfaces.

But even as a composer of miniatures Delius has a stature, and his art has a magnitude, that one begins to appreciate, if one hasn't done so before, when one hears a piece like Borodin's "On the Steppes of Central Asia"—another miniature, and certainly lovely, but so slight in comparison with the Delius piece. It is well-performed by Constant Lambert with the Philharmonia Orchestra and well-recorded on a Columbia single (71956-D; $1).

As for Victor, it offers, among other things, a set (1106; $3.85) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 2. This is a work for clarinet and piano, which Benny Goodman and Nadia Reisenberg recorded for Columbia; but Brahms also made a version for viola and piano, which Primrose and Kapell have recorded for Victor. In either form the work is one of the many of Brahms that I find mechanically contrived and boring; and if I prefer the viola-and-piano version it may be only because both musicians play it with vitality whereas in the other performance Goodman's playing was lifeless, and in this music even Primrose's excess of vitality—which has Kapell overawed at times—is preferable to none at all. The Victor performance also is more richly recorded than the Columbia; but I recall wavering pitch on at least one side of the Victor set.

There is a large Brahms public, and a Brahms cult for things like this so-

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nata; but what has led Victor to expend on Mendelssohn's "Reformation" Symphony the recording and production it cannot afford for Schnabel's performances of Beethoven and Mozart is beyond my comprehension. The uninteresting work is well-performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (Set 1104; $4.85), its high point being the beautifully contoured inflection of the cantilena of the brief Andante movement. And the recorded sound of the performance is spacious and rich, except on the first side in my set, where it is unresonantly dull. Also the surfaces of my copy are noisy.

On a single (10-1278; $.75) are two spirituals, "Poor Me" and "Hold On!" —well-sung by Marian Anderson to piano accompaniments by Rupp that are, as always, unique in the way they create continuous life around the voice even when they are no more than a few quiet and widely spaced chords. On another single (11-9519; $1) are Horowitz's mannered performance of Chopin's Valse Opus 64 No. 2, which is not clear in execution as it comes off the record, another mannered performance of Mendelssohn's Elegy Opus 85 No. 4, and a surprisingly straightforward performance of his Spring Song—the two Mendelssohn pieces being well-reproduced, but the surfaces of my copy being poor. And on still another (11-9263; $1) are the Barcarolle and *Elle a fui, la tourterelle* from Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann," sung poorly by Novotna.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARTLEY C. CRUM, a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, is the author of "Behind the Silken Curtain. A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy in Palestine and the Middle East."

ARTHUR MIZENER, professor of English at Carleton College, is a contributor to the *Kenyon Review*, the *Partisan Review*, and the *Southern Review*.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS is chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics.

RUTHVEN TODD is an English poet and author of a novel, "Over the Mountain."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Picasso Appeals

Dear Sirs: The following is the text of a cable just received from Pablo Picasso in France. Picasso has recently been appointed UNESCO delegate of the Spanish Republican government.

> The Spanish Aid Advisory Committee, with administrators of the Unitarian Service Committee, has examined the situation of numerous Spanish Republicans with tuberculosis, in France. The percentage of deaths from tuberculosis has increased enormously here as a result of war sufferings, and the number of beds available for tubercular cases has diminished. There are now one-fourth less than before the war. The problem of the ill Spaniards becomes more and more agonizing. Establishing of sanitariums for them is an urgent task. We appeal to the generosity of our American friends to help us meet the tragic situation of tubercular Spanish Republicans.
>
> PABLO PICASSO

In America the Spanish Refugee Appeal bears the main responsibility of these people. Funds raised on Tag Days, May 8, 9, and 10, will be used exclusively for the maintenance and expansion of medical facilities for them. I proudly join Picasso in appealing to the "generosity of our American friends." The address of the Spanish Refugee Appeal is 192 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

MARGARET WEBSTER, Chairman
1947 Spanish Refugee Tag Day Campaign

New York, April 30

A Challenge . . .

Dear Sirs: Nothing is more important today than to understand what the Soviet Union is all about, because peace depends mainly on American-Soviet understanding. The clearest possible example of how not to attain understanding or peace is Sidney Hook's review of my book, "Soviet Philosophy," in *The Nation* of February 15.

His method is to dwell exclusively on Soviet sins. . . . I believe this approach is just as absurd as that which would claim that the Soviet Union represents the embodiment of social perfection. The point is, we are all living in sin, but all major powers must join together in the effort to build peace. We and Russia can do this if we pay at least as much attention to our areas of agreement and our community of ideals and objectives as to our respective sins and our differences of methods.

The approach I recommend would be impossible in the case of Nazi-Fascism because its philosophy teaches that the values of war are superior to those of peace, that war is desirable in itself, as the highest form of personal and national conduct. Soviet philosophy teaches the opposite. That is why there is philosophic basis for peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union. That basis should be further explored. Isn't that sense? . . .

If anyone still seriously believes that Soviet philosophy is essentially identical with Nazi-Fascist philosophy, I should be glad to disprove it in detail. Let us not fool ourselves. If the Soviet Union were as bad or as similar to Nazi-Fascism as Hook seems to imagine, we ought to prepare for war, and we would be justified in invoking armed force. I challenge Hook to deny this.

It is amusing to see that his lengthy "review" contains not the slightest analysis of the vast majority of themes taken up in the book: the social theory of historical materialism; the concept of Soviet democracy as applied to problems of economics, education, race, war, and religion; the ethical theory of socialist humanism; the ontology and logic of dialectical materialism. Yet these are central. Why his silence?

As to what Mr. Hook does say, I have seldom seen so much misinformation, misinterpretation, hearsay, and gossip so abusively expressed. . . . Hook, oddly enough, speaks of honesty. I challenge him to affirm, in good faith, those ideals of Soviet philosophy with which we can cooperate and those accomplishments of Soviet Russia which we can respect. If he is honest, and wants peace, he must be willing to do this.

JOHN SOMERVILLE

New York, April 16

. . . and a Response

Dear Sirs: Mr. Somerville's political tirade in reply to my review is completely irrelevant to the criticisms I made of his book. I cited evidence that he had misstated the *theory* of Soviet philosophy as expressed in its authoritative writings and that he had suppressed the relevant facts about its *practice*. These are serious charges. Instead

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of meeting them on their own ground, he introduces a whole school of malodorous red herrings to distract the reader from noting his failure to answer a single one of my specific criticisms. His apparent view that we must sacrifice the truth in the interest of what he conceives to be good foreign policy reinforces my judgment that his book is not an objective analysis of Soviet philosophy and practice but a shabby piece of apologetics.

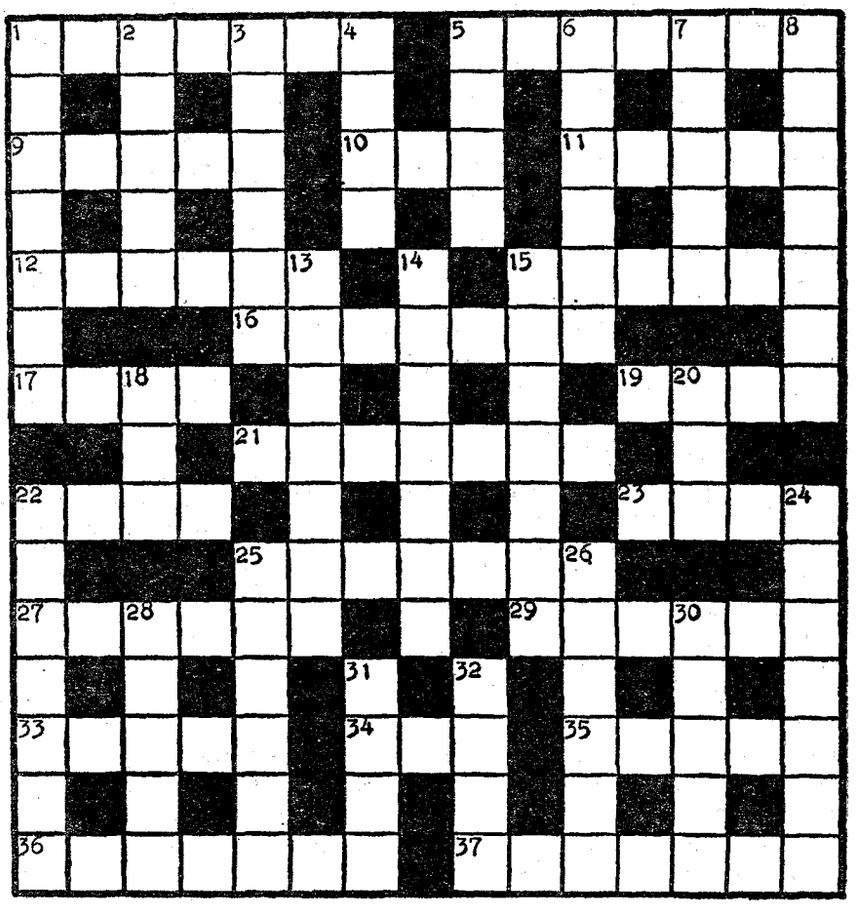
Mr. Somerville is no more accurate in his references to my review than he is in reporting the state of Soviet philosophy. I did not maintain that "Soviet philosophy is essentially identical with Nazi-Fascist philosophy"; I asserted that in respect to the denial of democratic freedoms, particularly their practices toward those who disagree with the state philosophy, they are the same. The expressed philosophies of Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo differ, too, but their practices are substantially the same. In my review I wrote that Mr. Somerville is "guilty of the elementary logical error of assuming that because two things are not identical, none of their features or relations can be the same." In repeating this error in his reply Mr. Somerville reveals that his deficiency of logical sense is incorrigible.

In evaluating the political and social practices of a country we cannot rely on its professions of ideals. The governments of Franco and Salazar both invoke the noble ideals of Christianity. But we quite properly judge them by their fruits. Why should we proceed differently with the Soviet Union? We don't mitigate the conduct of the Bilbos and Talmadges by pointing to the existence of democratic constitutions on paper. Why should the existence of the Soviet constitution—which actually provides for one-party rule—blind us to the absence of freedom and democracy in Russia?

The notion that criticism of the theory and practice of Soviet philosophy is prejudicial to peace is utterly preposterous. It is also insincere, for those who hold it never assert that criticism of Spain, Argentina, and other nondemocratic countries is war-mongering. Nor do they ever make similar charges against the Soviet Union, whose press—and an official press at that!—is full of vitriolic criticism of our own country. Mr. Somerville's theory of how to live in peace with the Soviet Union, if logically carried out, would lead to the complete abrogation of democracy as we know it in the United States.

Crossword Puzzle No. 211

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The earth has four, poetically speaking
5 Mass bombing
9 A Greek
10 It is surprising there is as much of the tent left as there is
11 They return to their posts at the close
12 Whiten
15 Taken on in an enveloping movement around a body of the Japanese
16 The land-grabber's property?
17 One so weak as to be shaken by current events
19 "Sweet ---- of Avon!" Ben Jonson called his friend, Shakespeare
21 Obviously an outdoor type
22 Dot about
23 Main part of an electric cooker
25 A row
27 Thoroughfare explored by the politician
29 Peak of poetic inexpressibility
33 German composer (1714-1787)
34 The Colonel, in short
35 A comic one may end tragically
36 Rats have got into the victuals!
37 Useful when the electricity fails

DOWN

1 Elia is in the climb
2 Anna's sixteen
3 Prefect of a province in ancient Greece
4 "Some undone widow ---- upon mine arm, And takes away the use of it"
5 Argentine drinking companion
6 Perhaps an English judge with swelled head
7 Make the introduction short, please
8 An Anglo-Irish lad
13 I get a cold reception in a hostel undergoing alteration
14 In stock market parlance, parcels of less than 100 shares (3 & 4)
15 Tied together
18 You have met this bird before
20 A matter of general, as well as private, concern
22 Have a giddy vacation? But not all together
24 Disavowals from Daniels
25 Bird with a "wandering voice"
26 A roc? No—a quadruped
28 Crow
30 A model of excellence
31 This is the part of rice, sir, that appeals to the young
32 Alexander the Little

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 210

ACROSS:—1 FLABBERGASTED; 10 IMPROVE; 11 ICE CUBE; 12 DINGBAT; 13 PALETTE; 14 WRONGED; 15 DIDEROT; 16 LINOCUT; 20 EXPUNGE; 23 ASSUAGE; 24 RENTIER; 25 ENRAGED; 26 THE CODA; 27 EMERGENCY EXIT.

DOWN:—2 LEPANTO; 3 BOOK BAG; 4 ELECTED; 5 GRIPPED; 6 STEELED; 7 EQUATOR; 8 WINDOW CLEANER; 9 PETER THE GREAT; 17 NOSTRUM; 18 CHANGER; 19 TREADLE; 20 ERRATIC; 21 PINK-EYE; 22 NAIROBI.

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Fortunately for the state of future relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Mr. Somerville is no more adept in foreign policy than in technical philosophy. It was not criticism of Nazi philosophy and practice that brought war but Hitler's invasion of Poland. It was not criticism of Japanese despotism that brought war but Pearl Harbor. And if war breaks out between Russia and the West it will not be the result of criticism but of concrete actions. And what sensible person will argue that Hitler invaded Poland because of our criticism of Nazi philosophy and practice? In 1941 no criticisms of Nazi policy were permitted in Russia but only praise. Did this deter Hitler? Is the Soviet Union's record of broken treaties, its refusal to accept a plan for effective inspection of atomic plants, its use of a worldwide fifth column the consequence of our unsympathetic criticism?

What the foreign policy of the United States should be in relation to Russia and other countries is an important question, which I have discussed at length in the January issue of *Partisan Review*. But whatever foreign policy the United States adopts, it has a better chance of preserving the peace of the world if it is based on a frank recognition of the truths concerning Soviet theory and practice than if it is based on the deceptions peddled by fellow-travelers of the Communist Party line.

SIDNEY HOOK

New York, April 20

With Open Eyes

Dear Sirs: Many good Americans feel that it is disloyal not to indorse unquestioningly the Truman Doctrine. Could anything be more "un-American" than saying, like the Germans, "My Führer, right or wrong"? Sincere patriots felt free to criticize Franklin Roosevelt even when he was at the height of his prestige and power and not a President-by-accident. We must see to it that the same essential freedom of thought and speech is preserved now.

The Truman Doctrine is in effect a declaration of war. I am a lover of peace, but not a pacifist. It may be that the Third World War is inevitable and even righteous. But it involves a responsibility so tremendous that it should not be assumed without serious discussion.

The Truman Doctrine is a complete reversal of a policy as old as the Republic. To maintain a king on his shaky throne is decidedly not in line with American tradition. I am not a slave of tradition myself. But we owe it to our founders not to deviate from their reasoned policy without the most searching consideration.

The Truman Doctrine is a misnomer. It is—and we have known it for years—the Mussolini-Hitler-Franco doctrine. On this point, again, we have the right to alter our course: *perseverare diabolicum*. But let us know clearly what we are doing, and why, and what it implies. If the Truman Doctrine be true, then, when the Great Crusade is won, we must raise expiatory monuments to those martyrs, the Duce and the Führer, who perished in its service.

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